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## Natural Science and Naturalistic Art in the Middle Ages

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UNTIL recent years the history of science has been conceived as a chronicle of discoveries presented with little regard for cultural context, save insofar as scientific advance served to dispel the mists of supposed superstition. Now, however, scientists and historians of science have been shocked into a realization that history is not an uninterrupted record of triumph: they have seen nations renowned for their science deliberately repudiate the scientific outlook, and have recalled that once before, in classical antiquity, a promising scientific movement decayed and was succeeded by a revulsion against natural knowledge. They have begun to ask basic questions: How is it possible for antiscientific forces to conquer whole societies? How did modern science start, and how has it maintained itself? Viewed historically, what fundamental attitudes nourish science and what starve it?

### I

Clearly, a large part of the answers must lie hidden in the later Middle Ages; for recent research has made it plain that our present scientific movement

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had its beginnings as early as the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> It is true that we must not exaggerate the modernity of the scientists of those times<sup>2</sup>—Haskins once remarked that to distribute medals for modernity is not the task of the historian—but must not the same caution be observed in regard to a Copernicus, a Kepler, or a Newton? We have been warned likewise<sup>3</sup> that much of the earliest of this science must not be judged by modern notions of what science is about: deeply impregnated with Aristotelianism, it was often, at first, a qualitative science expounding a hierarchy of essences rather than a quantitative science discovering laws of mechanical efficient causation. The really important thing to be noted, however, is the rapidity with which the scientists of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries learned to differ with Aristotle, once they had understood him, and with which they created the new nonclassical fashion in science. Modern science is not simply a continuation of the interrupted scientific movement of antiquity: it is something novel, created by the later Middle Ages, having interests, presuppositions, and methods alien to the Greeks. It is this originality, as much as the renewed vitality of science, which demands explanation.

According to the most stimulating theory thus far advanced to account for these phenomena, the new science and its peculiar characteristics arose out of the technology and the related economic interests of the rapidly expanding commercial class of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> From the eleventh

<sup>1</sup> See particularly J. H. Randall, jr., "The Development of Scientific Method in the School of Padua," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I (1940), 177–206. The most compendious work on medieval science, from the first through the sixteenth century, is Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (6 vols., New York, 1923–41). Publication of the fourteenth century volume of George Sarton's invaluable *Introduction to the History of Science* is expected shortly. The best discussion of the bibliography of fifteenth and sixteenth century science is that by F. R. Johnson and S. V. Larkey in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, II (1941), 363–401.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dana Durand, "Nicole Oresme and the Mediaeval Origins of Modern Science," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 167–85.

<sup>3</sup> Richard McKeon, "The Empiricist and Experimentalist Temper in the Middle Ages: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Mediaeval Science," *Essays in Honor of John Dewey* (New York, 1929), pp. 216–34.

<sup>4</sup> Leonardo Olschki, *Galilei und seine Zeit* (Halle, 1927), was the first to point out that Galileo's physics was essentially the theoretical generalization of experience gained through contemporary technology. Four years later B. Hessen, "The Social and Economic Roots of Newton's *Principia*," in *Science at the Cross Roads* (London, 1931) attempted to prove that the physical problems which concerned Newton emerged from the technical demands of transport, communication, industry, and warfare. Franz Borkenau, *Die Übergang vom feudalen zum bürgerlichen Weltbild* (Paris, 1934), a bold effort to fuse intellectual and social history, asserted that the Galilean mechanics, and consequently the Cartesian mathematical-mechanistic concept of the cosmos, presupposes the novel notion of abstract work (or force) derived from a great extension of division of labor which, quite apart from any introduction of new machines, occurred, he alleged, about 1600. In refutation, H. Grossmann, "Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der mechanistischen Philosophie und die Manufaktur," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, IV (1935), 161–229, showed that division of labor was still rudimentary in the seventeenth century, that the basic concepts of modern scientific mechanics go back to the fifteenth century at least, and that the writings of scientists and philosophers of the time demonstrate that their mechanistic ideas were developed by direct and conscious analogy with contemporary machines: artillery, clocks, hoists, waterwheels, pumps, bellows, etc. Edward W. Strong, *Procedures and Metaphysics: A Study in the*

century onward Europe experienced the growth of powerful, autonomous cities filled with burghers bent on making things and selling things. Praying and fighting might be all very well for clerics and nobles, but the new third estate was interested in concrete tangible goods. The production and distribution of such goods was the very reason for its existence. "The mediaeval bourgeoisie thus accomplished something that had never been done before. It made the properties of materials the chief interest of a ruling class."<sup>5</sup> In the new social environment men of learning and leisure came to regard the craftsman and technician with a new respect, manual operation gradually became fashionable, and theory and practice combined to produce modern science.

It is not the purpose of the present essay to comb the history of medieval technology in order to test this theory.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary let us explore another approach to the problem of the origins of our scientific movement in order to see how conclusions thus reached may check with the hypothesis of the technological inspiration of modern science.

*Philosophy of Mathematical-physical Science in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1936), exposed the importance, for the development of early modern mathematics, of practical operational methods often intimately connected with technology. The studies of G. N. Clark, "Early Capitalism and Invention," *Economic History Review*, VI (1936), 143-56, and *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (Oxford, 1937), supplemented by R. K. Merton, "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England," *Osiris*, IV (1938), 360-632, and V. F. Lenzen, "Science and Social Context," *University of California Publications in Philosophy*, XXIII (1942), 3-26, refined the discussion, while John D. Bernal, *Social Function of Science* (New York, 1939) and James G. Crowther, *Social Relations of Science* (New York, 1941) popularized it. The remarkable articles of the late E. Zilsel, especially "The Origins of William Gilbert's Scientific Method," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, II (1941), 1-32, "The Genesis of the Concept of Scientific Progress," *ibid.*, VI (1945), 325-49, "Problems of Empiricism: Experiment and Manual Labor," in *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, ed. by Otto Neurath, II, viii (Chicago, 1941), 53-59, and "The Sociological Roots of Science," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (1942), 544-62, showed the importance of bourgeois attitudes in raising the prestige of labor and thus making possible the fusion of theory and operation typical of modern science. An admirable example of the way in which practical concerns have influenced even the most abstract developments of science is offered by J. Delevsky, "L'invention de la projection de Mercator et les enseignements de son histoire," *Isis*, XXXIV (1942), 110-17: Mercator's projection was developed empirically in an effort to produce a map suitable for loxodromic navigation; attempts of mathematicians to establish its theoretical basis were in large part responsible for the invention of the calculus. Conditions of war have prevented me from seeing the same author's "L'évolution des sciences et les techniques industrielles," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, XXV (1939), 311-33.

<sup>5</sup> Crowther, p. 239.

<sup>6</sup> For a preliminary sketch of the materials, see Lynn White, jr., "Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 141-59. The Middle Ages are crucial in the history of technology not merely because of their extraordinary inventiveness but because they engendered the modern coercive attitude towards natural resources. Whereas in antiquity illustrated calendars showed the months as passive personifications holding symbols of their attributes, even deep in the early Middle Ages a change began to appear, and by the twelfth century the months in general were no longer represented by allegories but by genre scenes of the most realistic activity, telling how men exploit the forces and riches of nature throughout the year; cf. James C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Evanston, 1938), and M. Schapiro in *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 131-37.

## II

It is strange that historians of science have paid so little attention to the development of the visual arts. Art, like science, normally deals with the objects of our physical environment, and both art and science therefore presumably reflect any modification of attitude toward that environment. In view of the fact that the first stirrings of Western scientific curiosity are detected in the twelfth century, it is surely no coincidence that historians of medieval art have discovered a related change in the modes of aesthetic expression beginning about the year 1140. The transition from Romanesque to Gothic charts the passage from an age indifferent to the investigation of nature to one deeply concerned with it.

The later Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages lived not in a world of visible facts but rather in a world of symbols. The intellectual atmosphere was so saturated with Platonic modes of thought that the first Christian millennium was scarcely more conscious of them than it was of the air it breathed. Behind every object and event lay an Idea, a spiritual entity or meaning, of which the immediate experience was merely the imperfect reflection or allegory. The world had been created by God for the spiritual edification of man, and served no other purpose. So extreme was the anthropocentrism of late antiquity and of the early Middle Ages that even the turmoil and agony of nature was supposed to be only a shadow of Man's sinful state: when Man regained the simplicity of Eden, the harmony of the cosmos would be restored. For our regeneration God has given us two sources of spiritual knowledge: the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature. Each is filled with hidden meanings to be searched out. In the most literal sense the men of that age found "sermons in stones and books in running brooks." They believed that the universe is a vast rebus to be solved, a cryptogram to be decoded. All that is red became to them a reminder of the blood of Christ; all that is wooden, a memento of his cross; every spring evoked a recollection of their rebirth through baptism, and its refreshing rills were the waters of the Gospel revivifying the arid world of paganism. Fishermen lowering their nets reminded them of their redemption, and hunting scenes were allegories of the Christian's struggle with the forces of sin. The crab, walking sideways, was a symbol of the fraudulent; the moon, shining by reflected light, imaged the state, which functioned at the behest of the church; the turtledove, which was supposed to refuse a second mate, was a divine rebuke to the much-married ladies of high society; the pelican, which was believed to nourish its young with its own blood, was the analogue of Christ, who feeds mankind with his blood. In such a world there was no thought of hiding behind a clump



of reeds actually to observe the habits of a pelican. There would have been no point in it. Once one had grasped the spiritual meaning of the pelican, one lost interest in individual pelicans.

The effect upon science of such a view of nature was of course disastrous. The *Physiologus* literature, moralized bestiaries, herbals and lapidaries, hand-books for the interpretation of the creation conceived as symbol, appeared century after century. Allegorical interpretation was developed with the greatest subtlety and utilized acutely by the ablest minds to explore and discover hidden truth. Indeed, allegory was, in a sense, a critical method designed to unearth the sort of truth which that age wanted.<sup>7</sup> Our century, which is interested in a different sort of truth, has developed different critical methods to accomplish its ends. If the results of allegorical interpretation seem futile to our minds, we must remember that the whole of modern science would have seemed equally barren to men of that age, who, to judge by the records they left, were chiefly concerned with salvation.<sup>8</sup>

Inevitably such a view of the world produced a shadow-art, an art which distorted natural forms the better to indicate their supernatural meaning. Since eternal ideas exist beyond the realm of time and space, the third dimension was unconsciously eliminated, and representation took on a flat, disembodied quality. Not all decoration was symbolic in the early Middle Ages, but, even when it had no particular meaning, the forms were abstracted in such a way as to harmonize with the designedly symbolic scenes. The culmination of these tendencies was the Romanesque style, producing works of unsurpassed sobriety and magnificence but essentially contemplative, otherworldly, and introspective.

Then suddenly, toward the middle of the twelfth century, something began to stir in the art of western Europe: a fresh sense of the immediacies of concrete experience, a new attachment to physical actualities.<sup>9</sup> As we look at these first symptoms of the coming naturalism, we seem to hear that ebullient remark of one of the earliest of the twelfth century scientists, Adelard of Bath: "I am not the sort of fellow who can be fed with the picture

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the suggestive essay of A. A. Gilmore, "Augustine and the Critical Method," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIX (1946), 141-63.

<sup>8</sup> G. Cronin, jr., "The Bestiary and the Mediaeval Mind: Some Complexities," *Modern Language Quarterly*, II (1941), 191-98, rightly points out that just as the literal interpretation of Scripture was not abolished but merely supplemented by the allegorical, so in the *Physiologus* literature there is a residuum of interest in natural fact. But he does not deny that until the twelfth century the objective view both of Scripture and of nature was grievously neglected.

<sup>9</sup> The best general discussion of late medieval naturalism is that of W. Goetz, "Die Entwicklung des Wirklichkeitssinnes vom 12. zum 14. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXVII (1937), 33-73. Most of the literature is vitiated by an inherited eighteenth century tendency to confuse renewed objective interest in natural phenomena with rationalism, neoclassicism, neopaganism, secularism, a high opinion of human nature, or merely with *joie de vivre*. The view that in the field of art, the "rediscovery of man and of the world" was not accomplished by the

of a beefsteak!"<sup>10</sup> This impatience of symbol, this factual and earthy quality, was the symptom and expression of the forces then remolding European culture and laying the foundations of modern science.

The new spirit in art is most immediately reflected not in formal compositions, where the conservatism of piety might make itself felt, but rather in the realm of pure decoration, which could register changes of taste with the greatest sensitivity, unrestricted by religious tradition. Fortunately Mlle. Jalabert has given us a magnificent study of the history of the foliated capital which records, with the precision of a scientific instrument, changes of attitude towards the natural environment.<sup>11</sup> In the fifth century before Christ (a period of considerable scientific interests) the Corinthian capital appeared, with its realistic acanthus leaves and roses. But the Romans of the second century of our era were already tending to suppress naturalistic details: the fullblown rose became a medallion, while the acanthus was generalized into cactus-like shapes. In subsequent centuries the abstraction of forms continued to such a point that, as Mlle. Jalabert observes, one cannot be sure that the Romanesque sculptor was even thinking of leaves when he chiseled his boldly ornamental patterns. Then, between 1140 and 1170, a new sap is visible in the capitals at Noyon, Laon, Provins, and Paris. Clearly, now the carver is thinking of vegetation, but this is foliage without recognizable species: still Platonic leaves, if you will, living and vivid, but generalized. Between 1170 and 1200 the flora begins to become indented, lobed, elaborated, but it is still abstract. In this early Gothic the artist is interested in vital ornament rather than in exact imitation of nature.

In the early thirteenth century most sculptors continued this tradition, but a few struck out in further innovation. About 1205 one finds intricately carved grape leaves above an image of St. Anne and the infant Virgin at

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Italian Renaissance under antique inspiration but rather spontaneously by Gothic artists, was first advanced in detail by Louis Courajod in his Louvre lectures, published as *Origines de la renaissance* (Paris, 1901). Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert, *La renaissance septentrionale et les premiers maîtres de Flandres* (Brussels, 1905), followed Courajod in maintaining that this naturalism was a Netherlandish-Burgundian-French development of the later fourteenth century. However, M. Dvořák, "Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien*, XXIV, Heft 5 (1904), 161 ff., had already shown that the alleged novelties of the fourteenth century were continuations of thirteenth century tendencies. Dvořák's later investigation, "Idealismus und Naturalismus in der gotischen Skulptur und Malerei," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXIX (1919), 1-62, 185-246, especially 196, led him to conclude that the shift towards naturalism really began towards the middle of the twelfth century, and subsequent studies have generally confirmed this hypothesis. The periodic resurgence of something approaching naturalism in the Byzantine art of earlier periods sporadically affected the art of the West, but no convincing evidence of a consistent movement towards naturalistic representation before ca. 1140 has yet been adduced.

<sup>10</sup> "Non enim ego ille sum quem pellis pictura pascere possit," *Questiones naturales*, c. 6, cited by Thorndike, II, 29, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> D. Jalabert, "La flore gothique: ses origines, son évolution du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, XCI (1932), 181-246.

Chartres; five years later flowers and leaves of the eglantine appear above a statue of Christ in the same cathedral. Thereafter in monument after monument there is discovered a rapidly developing appreciation of the irregularities of natural forms, and by about 1230 many species are clearly recognizable. Moreover, it is certain that these carvings were done from life: so exact is the rendering of detail that the sculptor must have had the plants before him as he worked. But naturalism in art always imperils design,<sup>12</sup> and while realism was well suited to small capitals and bands of foliage, there can be no doubt that the effort to apply it, from 1241 onward, to the great capitals of the nave at Rheims was not successful. That contemporaries realized this defect of the new ornament is indicated by occasional reversions to the earlier monumental generalized forms. Thus from 1140 to 1240 Gothic capitals changed from the barest reminiscence of nature to a naturalism which sacrificed design to exactitude of observation. The interpretation of forms ceased, and floral sculpture became botanizing.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the sculptors took the final step and began to study the movement and undulation of plants. This interest in motion spread rapidly; a windiness swept through Gothic foliage which blew away the last remains of monumentality and produced dramatic waves of light and shadow which, in the fourteenth century, quickly degenerated into mannerism. In 150 years the Gothic sculptor had exhausted the possibilities of naturalistic representation in his medium.<sup>13</sup>

The development of Gothic flora is significant because of the great mass of exactly datable extant material and the fact that, as pure decoration, it was relatively free from iconographic conservatism. But the same tendencies are reflected in the treatment of the human figure and face: the statues surrounding the choir at Naumburg (*ca.* 1260) have never been surpassed in the sensitivity with which they mirror the forms of nature and of human nature.<sup>14</sup> By the

<sup>12</sup> Of this perennial conflict M. Schapiro, "The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art," *The Arts*, VIII (1925), 170-71, says, "With the growth of realism design decays—not at once, but when the discovery of natural detail is bound up, not with the desire for a more intricate order or pattern, or the extending of rhythmical relations into a third dimension, but with a passion for more exact replicas of models. Design must decay, because design is imaginative, arbitrary, emotional; it limits nature, it transforms appearances into eccentricities of the human mind. And successful realism precludes such tampering: Instead of modifying appearances it accepts them wholesale, with perhaps the addition of a sentiment or an anecdote."

<sup>13</sup> The development of botanical science during this period parallels the tendencies seen in Gothic foliation. Whereas the early herbals were man-centered, being concerned either with the moral significance or the pharmaceutic use of plants, *Circa instans*, probably written shortly before 1161, reveals a marked interest in plants for their own sake, while the new material in the herbal of Rufinus, *ca.* 1290, is descriptive botany in the modern sense. Cf. *The Herbal of Rufinus*, ed. by Lynn Thorndike (Chicago, 1946), p. xvi.

<sup>14</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1924), pl. 95-105; cf. also Josef Kirchner, *Die Darstellung des ersten Menschenpaares in der bildenden Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1903), pp. 77-78. A comparison of the illustrations of scholarly medical works of the Middle Ages and Renaissance with the ordinary pictures and statues of the period shows that

middle of the thirteenth century artists were trying as best they could to imitate nature; one recalls Villard de Honnecourt's proud note to his picture of a lion: "Know well that this was drawn from life."<sup>15</sup> The fact that his lion looks strangely like the conventional little beasts of past centuries merely illustrates the unconscious power of artistic tradition and serves to emphasize the novelty of the new aesthetic theory that, in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, "Art is imitation of nature. Works of art are successful to the extent that they achieve a likeness of nature."<sup>16</sup> Thus began that "confusion between science and art,"<sup>17</sup> that passion for the exact copying of nature, which dominated the development of art in the West for seven hundred years, or until the reaction against naturalism of the late nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

### III

Clearly then, the emergence of Gothic art reflects a fundamental change in the European attitude towards the natural environment. Things ceased to

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artists were well ahead of professional scientists in the keenness with which they observed the human body; cf. Karl Sudhoff, *Tradition und Naturbeobachtung in den Illustrationen medizinischer Handschriften und Frühdrucke vornehmlich des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1907); *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anatomie im Mittelalter, speziell der anatomischen Graphik nach Handschriften des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1908); *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chirurgie im Mittelalter: Graphische und textliche Untersuchungen in mittelalterlichen Handschriften* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1914-18). No anatomist for two centuries to come drew a skeleton comparable to that of Adam carved in the late thirteenth century on the western façade of Strassburg cathedral; cf. Rudolf Helm, *Skelett und Todesdarstellungen bis zum Auftreten der Totentänze* (Strassburg, 1928), pp. 18-19.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. by H. R. Hahnloser (Vienna, 1935), pl. 48. Nowhere is the influence of tradition over the most conscientious observation more evident than in the case of the lion, a beast pre-eminently involved in heraldic and religious iconography: even 250 years after Villard so ardent a zoologist as Dürer could see living lions only in the mirror of convention; cf. Harry David, *Die Darstellung des Löwen bei Albrecht Dürer* (Halle, 1909), pp. 93, 103-106.

<sup>16</sup> "Ea quae sunt secundum artem imitantur ea quae sunt secundum naturam, et tanto magis opus artis est melius quanto magis assequitur similitudinem ejus quod est in natura," *De regimine principum*, lib. I, c. 2, in *Opuscula omnia*, ed. by P. Mandonnet (Paris, 1927), I, 317.

<sup>17</sup> George Rowley et al., *Civilization of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1929), p. 116.

<sup>18</sup> Within this span the chief deviation from naturalistic art occurred in the baroque era when, in keeping with the tendency of Cartesian mathematical rationalism to abstract and simplify sensory data, an effort was made by artists to generalize and "improve" the beauties of nature; cf. R. W. Lee, "Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *Art Bulletin*, XXII (1940), 197-269. But the Romantic movement which was contemporary with a revived interest in the nonmathematical sciences, witnessed the return of a less orderly and selective naturalism in art. The empirical movement in painting reached complete sophistication, and conclusion, with the Impressionists who, aware that we see not objects but merely the light reflected from objects, painted that light as it fell upon the retina of the eye. A remark of Matisse to a friend of the present writer exactly expresses the nature of the revolt from the tradition of twenty generations which was accomplished by the Expressionists. In his formative period Matisse experimented with the pointillist technique but abandoned it. "They are trying to *paint* light," he said, "whereas I am trying to *create* light." The emphasis in art has shifted from the observation of nature to an act of creative will by the artist. As always, a corresponding change is found in science. Once chemistry was the discovery and purification of natural substances; now it is the creation of forms of matter often unknown in nature. Just as Picasso redistributes the features of his model to suit his purpose, so the chemist juggles atoms to create unheard-of molecules. To the scientist nature is increasingly hardly more than a reservoir of abstract matter-energy to be exploited; to the artist it is abstract color-form to be used according to human fancy.

be merely symbols, rebuses, *Dei vestigia*, and became objects interesting and important in themselves, quite apart from man's spiritual needs. To be sure, the concept of nature as allegory did not perish: on the contrary it continued to flourish and elaborate, particularly in mystical circles. Yet even the mystics succumbed to the new yearning for the particular and concrete:<sup>19</sup> a dove might continue to represent the Holy Spirit, but it was now observed with the curiosity of an ornithologist. The meditations of the mystics took on a new factual, and therefore dramatic, quality: no longer content to contemplate Christ the Logos, the eye of the spirit now learned to follow the path of the historical Jesus step by step from Bethlehem to Calvary, reliving with him his earthly life in the most minute detail.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, at the end of the twelfth century Catholic piety suddenly concentrated itself upon an effort to bring God down to earth and to see and touch him. It was as though Europe had become populated with doubting Thomases eager to thrust their fingers into the very wounds of Christ.<sup>21</sup> To an extraordinary degree the new eucharistic cult was empirical in temper, permitting the constant seeing and handling of God. The elevation of the consecrated host first appeared at Paris between 1196 and 1208; the reservation of the host for adoration became so common that the altar, hitherto conceived as a table, came to be thought of as normally supporting a tabernacle or monstrance; the dogma of transubstantiation was defined in 1215; the feast of Corpus Christi was instituted in 1264; and the first procession in honor of the host was held in 1279. Superficially the new piety might seem to be a development and expansion of the traditional sacramentalism, and as such a buttressing of the older symbolic and mediate view of nature. But, as the more conservative Eastern Church suspected, this was a sacramentalism of a new flavor, suffused with a spirit alien to that of the first Christian millennium. It seemed

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Karl Joël, *Der Ursprung der Naturphilosophie aus dem Geiste der Mystik* (Jena, 1906), esp. pp. 9-34.

<sup>20</sup> Félix Vernet, *La spiritualité médiévale* (Paris, 1929), pp. 77-85. We have as yet no adequate study of changing medieval attitudes towards the earthly life of Jesus. An important recent contribution is that of Sister M. I. Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington, 1944). The newer treatment of the life of Jesus is related to the exaltation of literal, as opposed to "spiritual," interpretation of Scripture which appeared as early as 1120 and which was raised to dominance by the friars of the thirteenth century; cf. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1941), p. 58. According to Gerald R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1933), p. 61, Robert Rypon, a Benedictine of ca. 1400, credited the growth of many heresies of his time to the literal interpretation of Scripture.

<sup>21</sup> On the skeptical and empirical implications of the representation of the episode of St. Thomas, see M. Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *Art Bulletin*, XXI (1939), 348, n. 122. Perhaps the increased frequency and dramatic development of the Gethsemane scene in the fourteenth century similarly indicates a new sympathy for the experience of doubt; cf. Marie Bartmuss, *Die Entwicklung der Gethsemane-Darstellung bis um 1400* (Halle a. S., 1935), pp. 86-89. A. L. Mayer, "Die Liturgie und der Geist der Gothik," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VI (1926), 68-97, furnishes an admirable analysis of the dangers to orthodoxy inherent in late medieval liturgical innovations.

almost that the Latin Church, in centering its devotion upon the actual physical substance of its deity, had inadvertently deified matter.

The unconscious mutation towards naturalism of religious attitudes is closely related to the contemporary emergence of drama out of sacramental rite. As early as the year 900 brief dramatic intrusions are discovered among the symbolic acts of liturgy, centering originally in the story of the Sepulchre and the angelic invitation to empiricism: *Venite et videte*. These playlets gradually became elaborated and diversified, separated from the liturgy proper, and by the twelfth century they were leaving the altar for the church porch facing the market place. Laymen came to participate in them, and at last, very significantly, the guilds of craftsmen adopted them as their chief communal art form, and developed them, with increasing realism of dialogue, scenery, and costume, into a true theater. The clergy and nobility might be content with a literature of recitation; the burghers demanded and created in the European theater a literature of far greater realism, appealing to the eye as well as to the ear.<sup>22</sup> Nothing better illustrates the Gothic bourgeois interest in the direct personal experience of earthly fact than the growth of drama from liturgy.

The same shift of emphasis from the symbolic-sacramental to the naturalistic-dramatic is visible in the development of medieval iconography. The new interests are of course clearly reflected in the depiction of the Six Days of Creation. Christian artists of the first millennium had focused attention on the earlier, or cosmological, labors of God, but from the middle of the twelfth century we discover a great elaboration of the later Days dealing with terrestrial events and creatures.<sup>23</sup> Such changes in the habitual representation of sacred subjects are the more useful in understanding the unconscious gropings of that age because they can seldom have been deliberate: they were born of an intuitive sense of the greater fitness of the new form. For example, the early church and the Greek East normally depicted the Last Supper at the moment of the institution of the Mass: "This is my body." Then, even in the Orient, a new presentation emerges: it is the sacrament of Judas, a moment which combines sacramental and dramatic interests. Finally, in the West alone, the scheme shifts again. This time all thought of sacrament is gone, and we are

<sup>22</sup> Gustave Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge* (Paris, 1906), pp. 104-34, asserts that the new realism, emotionalism and humanization found in the visual arts of the later Middle Ages was derived chiefly from the development of these qualities on the stage. While indeed interaction between drama and the other arts was inevitable (e.g., cf. Hubert Schrader, *Die Auferstehung Christi* [Berlin, 1932], pp. 69 ff.; Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* [Paris, 1928], pp. 125-50), nevertheless the naturalism of the late medieval theater was merely one phase of a movement affecting the whole intellectual and emotional life of Europe.

<sup>23</sup> C. Schmidt, *Die Darstellung des Sechstageswerkes* (Hildesheim, 1938), pp. 90-91.



left with a purely dramatic situation: the moment depicted becomes Christ's announcement, "One of you shall betray me." The apostles are thrown into confusion, and their reactions become psychologically differentiated, until the development reaches its climax in Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece.<sup>24</sup>

Likewise, the iconographic scheme of the Ascension dominant in the twelfth century was a Byzantine hieratic glorification of the deity of Christ. It is arranged at two levels, with Christ above and the Virgin below on the central axis, the latter flanked by two groups of apostles. Gradually in the West the gestures of the lower portion of the picture become more violent, St. Mary mixes with the general turmoil, and at last, in the thirteenth century, Christ is habitually skyrocketing upward so fast that only his feet are visible, seemingly preserved merely as the excuse for, and explanation of, the human emotional situation depicted on the earth below.<sup>25</sup>

A similar change occurs in representations of the Virgin and Child. At first they are shown frontally, looking at the worshiper. In the twelfth century mother and baby begin to turn slightly towards each other in profile, thus establishing a more human and sentimental relation between them, but severing their former reciprocal relation with the worshiper, who now degenerates into a mere spectator. Finally, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, mother and child invent all sorts of playful pastimes, and the representation becomes drama pure and simple.<sup>26</sup>

Above all, the well-known changes in the form of the crucifix illustrate the growth of the new dramatic naturalism. An object of such importance in religious practices would be subject to conservative treatment; its modification is therefore the more significant. Despite St. Bernard's ardent devotion to the sufferings of the Redeemer, until the thirteenth century crucifixes present Christ not as a bleeding victim but rather as the new Melchisedec, the priest-king, blessing with his outstretched arms. There is little sign of agony; the crown is a royal diadem, not one of thorns; the four nails are treated abstractly, and often are rendered by ornamented golden discs. Then, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, a new treatment of the crucifix emerges: Christ is contorted with pain; blood gushes from the wounds; the crown of thorns is depicted; not four nails but three appear (involving a new problem of spatial

<sup>24</sup> Evelyn S. Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della passione* (Verona, 1929), pp. 200 ff.; Ildefons Herwegen, *Christliche Kunst und Mysterium* (Münster i. W., 1929), pp. 27-29.

<sup>25</sup> Vavalà, pp. 15-16; H. Gutberlet, *Die Himmelfahrt Christi in der bildenden Kunst* (Strassburg, 1934), pp. 243-55.

<sup>26</sup> Vavalà, *L'iconografia della Madonna col Bambino nella pittura italiana del dugento* (Siena, 1934), pp. 5-6. The tendency to dramatize and humanize the relation between Christ and St. Mary led to the development of a new subject in both poetry and art: the pietà; cf. J. Schwietering, "Mittelalterliche Dichtung und Bildende Kunst: I, Zur Geschichte des deutschen Vesperbildes," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Altertum*, LX (1923), 113-18.



representation in the overlapping of forms) and these are long, cruel nails drawn in foreshortening.<sup>27</sup> In other words, the thirteenth century crucifix reflects a new realism, both physical and psychological, a new sense of three-dimensional space, a new and vivid emotionalism, and a shift of accent in religion from divine grace to human drama.

The peril to traditional religion inherent in the new naturalism was not entirely unperceived by contemporaries. An arch-conservative Spanish ecclesiastic, Bishop Luke of Tuy, raged against the innovation of the three-nailed cross, representation of the Madonna in profile, and the depiction of God the Father or the Trinity in material form, as being the work of heretics.<sup>28</sup> After seven centuries, who will say that he was wrong? The Byzantine Church, which more nearly preserved the older piety, never admitted the three-nailed crucifix to its art;<sup>29</sup> for implicit in such novelties were those forces of scientific objectivity and religious subjectivism which were eventually to destroy the unity and authority of the Latin Church.

Bishop Luke should have been equally disturbed by a contemporary change in the iconography of the Annunciation. In the earlier period St. Mary is generally shown spinning, and the angel very nearly taps her on the shoulder to deliver his message. From the thirteenth century, however, the Virgin is normally depicted at prayer, either seated or kneeling, her prayerbook open before her.<sup>30</sup> In other words, in primitive Christianity, when God speaks, man hears; in the new age of religious subjectivism the human mind must be prepared to receive God's message. Once religion and the realm of spirit had been objective; perception of nature, subjective. Now nature becomes objective; religion, subjective. Hitherto the natural had been merely a vehicle by which the supernatural made itself known to man; now the natural realm gains a status and importance of its own. Once natural knowledge had been entirely subordinate to sacred; now the way is prepared for that separation of secular learning from theology which was effected by the scholastics of the generation following St. Thomas, which liberated natural science and which permitted it to develop as an autonomous human endeavor.

Yet although the blackest heresy lurked behind the new attitude towards nature, the chief propagandist of the coming era was, paradoxically, the greatest saint of the Middle Ages, Francis of Assisi. Nowhere is the Gothic insistence that the eye of the spirit must be supplemented by the eye of the flesh better illustrated than in Thomas of Celano's account of that Christmas

<sup>27</sup> Vavalà, *Croce dipinta*, pp. 47-48, 113-15.

<sup>28</sup> *De altera vita*, lib. II, c. 9, in Marguerin de La Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum* (Lyons, 1677), XXV, 122-23; cf. Jean Guiraud, *Histoire de l'inquisition au moyen âge* (Paris, 1935), I, 165; M. Schapiro in *Art Bulletin*, XXI, 331, n. 48.

<sup>29</sup> Vavalà, *Croce dipinta*, p. 49.

<sup>30</sup> Giacomo Prampolini, *L'Annunciazione nei pittori primitivi italiani* (Milan, 1939), p. 4.

eve at Greccio when St. Francis and his friend Giovanni dramatized the scene at Bethlehem, complete with crib, stall, ox, and ass, in order to see these mysteries *corporeis oculis*, and thus first popularized the creche.<sup>31</sup> The Poverello and his gray-robed friars did much to spread the representational concept of art<sup>32</sup> and the new emotionalism and religious subjectivism which accompanied it.

It is among the Franciscans as well that the scientific expression of the new attitude towards nature is most clearly seen. As has been remarked, the older view of the natural creation as symbol was completely anthropocentric: everything existed solely for man's spiritual benefit, and for nothing else. Against this human egotism the humility of St. Francis rebelled. To him the things of nature were indeed symbols, but they were more than that: they were fellow creatures placed on earth for God's inscrutable purposes, praising him in their proper ways as we do in ours. Such an attitude is, of course, implicit in the *Benedicite* and Psalm 148, but never before had it become explicit to such an extent within the Christian tradition. So extreme, indeed, was the reaction of St. Francis against a man-centered universe that he fell spontaneously into a cardinal deviation from orthodoxy which the church has chosen both to forgive and to minimize: he preached to birds and flowers, thus imputing moral personality to them.<sup>33</sup> Earlier legends of the relations of living things to saints had emphasized that a true saint restores the harmony of Eden in which all beasts are subject to man; but St. Francis brought the wolf of Gubbio to repentance.

It may be said without exaggeration that St. Francis first taught Europe that nature is interesting and important in and of itself. No longer were flames merely the symbol of the soul's aspiration: they were Brother Fire. The ant was not simply a homily to sluggards, the worm not solely a sermon on humility: now both were autonomous entities. St. Francis was the greatest revolutionary in history: he forced man to abdicate his monarchy over the creation, and instituted a democracy of all of God's creatures. Man was no longer the focus of the visible universe. In this sense Copernicus is a corollary of St. Francis.

<sup>31</sup> I Celano, c. 31 [84], ed. by Honyel G. Rosedale (London, 1904), pp. 67-68.

<sup>32</sup> R. Boving, "Das aktive Verhältnis des Hl. Franz zur bildenden Kunst," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, XIX (1926), 610-35; Artemisia Zimei, *La concezione della natura in San Francesco d'Assisi* (Rome, 1929), pp. 160-201; H. B. Gutman, "The Rebirth of the Fine Arts and Franciscan Thought," *Franciscan Studies*, V (1945), 215-34, VI (1946), 3-29.

<sup>33</sup> I Celano, c. 30 [81], p. 65, tells us that "*Cumque florum copiam inveniret, ita predicabat eis et ad laudem eos dominicam invitabat ac si ratione vigerent.*" In contrast, St. Bonaventura's official biography of St. Francis, an effort to purge the Franciscan tradition of the more embarrassing portions of the legacy of the Saint of Assisi, significantly entitles its collection of anecdotes concerning birds and beasts, "*Quomodo ratione carentia videbantur ad ipsum affici*"; *Opera omnia*, ed. by A. C. Petier (Paris, 1868), XIV, 319.

For an understanding of the history of science the central fact about the Poverello of Assisi is that his attitude towards his fellow creatures provided an adequate, and hitherto lacking, emotional basis for the objective investigation of nature. Indeed, is it fantastic to suggest that the saint's unwillingness to regard one creature as more important than another unconsciously assisted transition from the hierarchical-qualitative science of tradition to the egalitarian-quantitative science of modern times? At any rate it was no accident that his Order attracted men who flung themselves into furthering the new natural science and who became its leading exponents in the thirteenth century. Such activity is found throughout the Order, but centered particularly in the Franciscan school at Oxford, which became the most vital intellectual influence of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. From it emerged the two dominant figures of late scholasticism, John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, who raised the scientific attitude of their fellow Friars Minor to the level of philosophical formulation, severed natural science from theology and paved the way for nominalism, the basic philosophy of modern times.

#### IV

In the study of cultural history, phenomena of the same order (*e.g.*, sculpture and drama, Protestantism and capitalism, technology and science) cannot successfully be arranged in causal relation to each other. With due allowance for the unpredictability of individual genius, the diversionary power of tradition, and the fallibility of unitary explanations, their cognate growth may better be regarded as symptomatic of changes more fundamental, presumably in the daily relationships and activities of the group which is socially dominant or rising to dominance.

Certainly many features of the modern world which can be traced back to the later Middle Ages are intelligible in terms of the third estate's occupational concern with the material things of earth. Proponents of the technological theory of the origins of modern science have insisted that the inventive temper of the later Middle Ages was an attribute of the new burgher class. There is increasing consensus among scholars that the Gothic style, the first phase of modern artistic naturalism, reflects the life and interests of the burgeoning commercial cities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The vast cathedrals were the glory and pride of these new middle-class communities: at Chartres the seven great windows around the high altar were given by guilds of craftsmen. St. Francis, the son of a merchant and reared in a thriving town, became the evangelist of the objectivity of nature. He and his followers worked primarily with the urban population, and for a century at least enjoyed their

favor. Indeed it can be maintained that Franciscanism was the most vigorous effort before the Protestant Reformation to formulate Christian spirituality in terms of the concerns of the bourgeoisie.<sup>34</sup> The nominalistic philosophy, largely Minorite in origin and deeply influenced by the work of Franciscan scientists, provided the middle class with a rationale and a program of action for reform of church and state which has been realized in great detail during recent centuries.<sup>35</sup>

Modern science, similarly, as it first appeared in the later Middle Ages, was more than the product of a technological impulse: it was one result of a deep-seated mutation in the general attitude towards nature, of the change from a symbolic-subjective to a naturalistic-objective view of the physical environment.<sup>36</sup> The new science was a facet, and not the most brilliant, of an unprecedented yearning for immediate experience of concrete facts which appears to have been characteristic of the waxing third estate. The study of late medieval technology may indeed furnish the most direct approach to an understanding of many problems in early modern science. Nevertheless the evidence from the history of the visual arts serves to guard us against an oversimplified economic determinism which neglects the more indirect but powerful ways in which social ambience influences the constitution of science and the unconscious motivations of scientists.

<sup>34</sup> L. White, jr., "The Significance of Medieval Christianity," in *The Vitality of the Christian Religion*, ed. by G. F. Thomas (New York, 1944), pp. 110 ff.

<sup>35</sup> The most detailed discussion of the sociology of nominalism is by Eberhard Conze, *Der Satz vom Widerspruch* (Hamburg, privately printed, 1932), pp. 201-43; cf. also his "The Social Origins of Nominalism," *Marxist Review*, I (1937), 115-24; P. Honigsheim, "Zur Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Scholastik: Die soziologische Bedeutung der nominalistische Philosophie," *Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber* (Munich, 1923), II, 175-218; J. Hollnsteiner, "Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Nominalismus," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, V (1933), 171-73. O. V. Trachtenberg, "William of Occam and the Prehistory of English Materialism," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, VI (1945), 195-211, is less useful. These authors have overlooked a passage in the introduction to the twenty-second book of St. Albertus Magnus' *De animalibus*, ed. by H. Stadler (Münster, 1920), 1349, indicating that nominalism, with its suspicion of abstract ideas and logical systematization, and its emphasis on concrete fact, was latent in the minds of the common people of the thirteenth century. St. Albert remarks that although alphabetical arrangement is alien to the method of philosophy, nevertheless he will append to his treatise an alphabetical dictionary of animals in payment of his debt to unlearned men: "*Quia sapientibus et insipientibus nos esse recognoscimus debitores, et ea quae particulariter de particularibus narrantur, rusticam melius instruant contionem, talem in fine nostro libro tractatum apponemus.*"

<sup>36</sup> A contrary trend, but a similar correlation between science and art, is visible in late antiquity. Alexandria, the scientific center of the Hellenistic world, long favored fairly naturalistic representation. But the future did not lie with Alexandria: excavations at Antioch have unearthed a sequence of some three hundred mosaics, dating from the second through the sixth century, which show the disintegration of illusionism and the rise of symbolism to dominance; Charles R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (New York, 1938), pp. 32-48; cf. also Michael Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 81-84.

# Migration of English Mormons to America

M. HAMLIN CANNON\*

IT is a little-noted fact that after its formative years the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints drew most of its converts not from its native America but from the slums and downtrodden peasantry of Europe. Mormonism in its youth was a poor man's religion and made its appeal to the underprivileged classes. Joseph Smith, jr., the founder of the Church, and his successor, Brigham Young, were themselves of humble station, and their able lieutenants were drawn from the poor, so that it is only natural that they and their novel faith appealed to their own kind. Mormonism is, economically speaking, a way of life and a gospel of practical daily living. And from the beginning the Church emphasized that both a new way of salvation and greater financial security awaited those who embraced the gospel of the last dispensation.

The foreign missionary program of the Mormon Church dates from the year 1835, when the Prophet Joseph Smith told his followers in Kirtland, Ohio, that an assembly of twelve men had been assigned the important task of supervising missionary operations. He then called upon the three witnesses to the golden plates<sup>1</sup> to bless and anoint these men and set them apart as apostles. On the evening of February 27, 1835, the Prophet gave the newly created Quorum of Apostles instructions regarding the *modus operandi* to be followed in the missionary field. At every meeting place, he said, one or more persons must be appointed to record the minutes of the meeting. This procedure would enable the Apostles to be consistent in points of doctrine, and the records they kept would be of great future value. The Prophet then concluded meaningfully:

The time will come if you neglect to do these things, you will fall by the hands of unrighteous men. Were you to be brought before the authorities, and be accused of any crime or misdemeanor, and be as innocent as the angels of God, unless you prove yourself to have been somewhere else, your enemies will prevail against you; but if you can bring twelve men to testify that you were in a certain place at the time, you will escape their hands.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The witnesses to the golden plates containing the revelations embodied in the Book of Mormon were Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and David Whitmer.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Period I* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1902), II, 199.

The Twelve Apostles were blessed and sent forth to preach the gospel in all nations and tongues. At first they were ordered to labor only in the states and territories of the United States.

The missionaries were instructed to emphasize five points in picturing the advantages of the Mormon faith. The prospective convert would gain (1) Zion, a sanctuary from the desolation which was sure to sweep over the ungodly world in the last days, (2) all the land he could reasonably cultivate, (3) a guarantee of gainful employment, (4) association with fellow believers, and (5) equal opportunity with the "best people."

The English mission was not set up until 1837, and its organization resulted in large measure from the fact that financial chaos had struck the Mormon Church. During the preceding year, the nation-wide spirit of speculation had enveloped the Latter-Day Saints in Ohio. Joseph Smith in November, 1836, had established the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. When the state of Ohio refused to charter it as a bank, he had changed the name to the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-banking Company. In all respects, however, it had carried on the usual functions of a bank. The basic insecurity of the institution had soon become evident, however, and the bank notes it issued within a month fell to less than twelve and one-half cents on the dollar. The Saints who had entrusted their savings to the Prophet were indignant, and dissension, faultfinding, disloyalty, and apostasy had developed. The apostasy had spread until, to quote a Mormon historian, "about one-half of the Apostles, one of the First Presidency, and many leading Elders became disloyal to Joseph, declaring him to be a 'fallen Prophet.'"<sup>3</sup>

While the dissension was at its height, Joseph Smith decided to send the Twelve Apostles on missions lest they be affected. With the exception of Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde, all were ordered to work in the states.<sup>4</sup> Apostles Hyde and Kimball, with five elders, were sent to England, and on July 1, 1837, they sailed from New York, arriving in the British Isles on July 20.

Heber C. Kimball relates that they had scarcely reached their destination when the forces of darkness assailed them and tried to overthrow their mission:

About daybreak Brother Russell . . . came up to the room where Elder Hyde and myself were sleeping and called upon us to rise and pray for him, for he was afflicted with evil spirits, that he could not live long unless he should obtain relief. We immediately arose and laid hands upon him and prayed that the Lord would have mercy on his servant and rebuke the devil. While thus engaged, I was struck with great force by some invisible power and fell senseless on the floor. . . . [He was laid on the bed and his fellow elders prayed for him.] I then sat on the bed

<sup>3</sup> [George Q. Cannon, ed.] *Life of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City, 1893), p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, II, 489.



and could distinctly see the evil spirits who foamed and gnashed their teeth upon us. We gazed upon them about an hour and a half, and I shall never forget the horror and malignity depicted on the countenances of those foul spirits. . . . However, the Lord delivered us from the wrath of our spiritual enemies and blessed us exceedingly that day.<sup>5</sup>

In their first actual attempts at conversion, however, the missionaries played in good fortune. There was a sect of unlettered folk in England known as the Primitive Methodists, who had separated from the main body of Methodism because of a difference of opinion on temporal questions. The Wesleyans generally believed that it ill behooved a religious body to wrestle with the problems of the day. Religion was for the purpose of preparing oneself for a future life. This idea was not pleasing to some of the working-class members, who consequently withdrew and established an organization of their own. This group doubled in membership during the Chartist agitation.<sup>6</sup> The Primitive Methodists had a lay brother at their head and sought means to alleviate the hardships of their daily life.

To this submerged, underprivileged, inarticulate group (only one half of the laboring classes in England was literate<sup>7</sup>) came the Mormon missionary with his message of good cheer. He was of them, spoke their language, labored with them, and lived with them. His message, phrased in familiar homilies and generously interlarded with scriptural authority, carried his auditors with him.<sup>8</sup> Within a few months, Heber C. Kimball and his co-workers had converted nearly 1,500 individuals.<sup>9</sup> After firmly establishing a number of branches

<sup>5</sup> H. C. Kimball, *Journal of Heber C. Kimball* (Nauvoo, 1840), p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Chartism had drawn many of the working classes into its fold, and for a time its beneficial program appeared likely to ameliorate their lot. The important fact of Chartism as related to this study is that the English Chartist distrusted the established church. The Chartist's religious creed made him prone to accept the teachings of the Mormon elder. "Although the English Chartist was a stranger to the Church, he was as a rule familiar with the teachings of Christ, and soon came to entertain some definite ideas in regard to Christianity. He reduced it to a formula, simple but practical. He emphasized only the social aspect. . . . The typical Chartist viewpoint was similar to that of Lovett who said he had come 'to look upon practical Christianity as a union for the promoting of loving kindness and good deeds to one another, and not a thing for idlers to profit by, who in their miserable interpretation of it too often caused men to neglect the improvement of the present in their aspirations of the future.'" Harold U. Faulkner, *Chartism and the Churches* (New York, 1916), pp. 19-20. With the downfall of Chartism and its being ridiculed out of existence, the laborer of England found himself bound to the harsh realities of the industrial system. Some years ago this writer read an unpublished master's thesis at the University of California entitled "The Mormon Missionaries in England, 1837 to 1852," by Sam Hamerman. Without notes or present access to this study, the writer regrets that he cannot cite it at points where it may parallel or supplement this essay.

<sup>7</sup> John C. Cobden, *The White Slaves of England* (New York, 1860), pp. 379-80.

<sup>8</sup> The *Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star* and the *Journal of Discourses*, which commenced publication in 1840 and 1854, respectively, are replete with these sermons.

<sup>9</sup> The presidents of the British mission for the period under discussion were: Heber C. Kimball, July 20, 1837, to April 20, 1838; Joseph Fielding *et al.*, April 20, 1838, to July 6, 1840; Brigham Young, July 6, 1840, to April, 1841; Parley P. Pratt, April, 1841, to October 20, 1842; Thomas Ward, October, 1842, to November 1, 1843; Reuben Hedlock, November 1, 1843, to February 4, 1845; Wilford Woodruff, February 4, 1845, to October, 1846; Orson Hyde, October,



of the Church, Apostle Kimball left England for the United States on April 20, 1838. He found his brethren, most of whom were now in Missouri, suffering much from anti-Mormon mobs. Kirtland, Ohio, had been almost deserted by the Mormons following Joseph Smith's flight to Missouri in January, 1838.

By 1839, Gentile pressure had become so menacing that the Mormons, to save themselves from threatened extermination, withdrew from Missouri and settled in Commerce, Illinois, where they commenced to build the city of Nauvoo. The Saints had scarcely started to restore their shrunken fortunes when Joseph Smith ordered the whole Quorum of Apostles to go on a mission to England. Some of them had apostatized, but those who had remained faithful immediately began to make plans. Although rich in the belief that theirs was the true Church of the Last Dispensation, the missionaries were poor in worldly goods and ill prepared for a long and arduous trip. Heber C. Kimball noted that he had been given a secondhand cloak which he wore across the seas three times and which Parley P. Pratt wore four times.<sup>10</sup> Brigham Young had an overcoat made from a quilt.<sup>11</sup> One newly appointed member of the Twelve, Wilford Woodruff, observed in his journal that of the Apostles who set out on the mission, "Brother Taylor [a new Apostle] was about the only man in the quorum who was not sick."<sup>12</sup>

Joseph Smith's recalcitrant brother William, long a source of trouble to the Prophet, pleaded that the impoverished condition of his family would not permit him to accompany the missionaries.<sup>13</sup> Between August 8 and September 21, 1839, Apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson and Parley P. Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, and George Albert Smith set out from Illinois to earn their way to England, the last-named being accompanied by Elder Reuben Hedlock. On April 6, 1840, the last members of the apostolic delegation arrived in England.<sup>14</sup>

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1846, to January, 1847; Franklin D. Richards (ad interim), January, 1847, to February, 1847; Orson Spencer, February, 1847, to August, 1848; Orson Pratt, August, 1848, to January, 1851; Franklin D. Richards, January, 1851, to May, 1852; Samuel W. Richards, May, 1852, to June, 1854; Franklin D. Richards, June, 1854, to August, 1856; Orson Pratt, August, 1856, to October, 1857; Samuel W. Richards, October, 1857, to March, 1858; Asa Calkin, March, 1858, to May, 1860; Nathaniel V. Jones and Jacob Gates, May, 1860, to August, 1860; Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich, August, 1860, to July, 1862; George Q. Cannon, July, 1862, to September, 1864; Daniel H. Wells, September, 1864, to August, 1865; Brigham Young, jr., August, 1865, to July, 1867; Franklin D. Richards, July, 1867, to September, 1868; and Albert Carrington, September, 1868, to June, 1870. Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930), V, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Brigham Young *et al.*, *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool, 1859), VI, 65.

<sup>11</sup> Preston Nibley, *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> Matthias F. Cowley, ed., *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: History of His Life and Labors, as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City, 1909), p. 109.

<sup>13</sup> *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Ill.), II (Dec. 15, 1840), 252.

<sup>14</sup> Of the remaining members of the Quorum of Apostles, Orson Hyde was sent on a mission to Jerusalem on April 6, 1840, Apostle John E. Page being appointed to accompany him. The

The men from America, though anxious to convert the laboring classes of England to Mormonism, were equally desirous to have them migrate to the states and help build Nauvoo into a great city. Especially did they stress the material advantages the Church had to offer. It was generally known that on the American frontier all men were accepted at their face value, and it was obvious that in such a society, which was in a state of flux, the strong would emerge to become the leaders. So to those who believed themselves strong in heart the Mormon elder made his appeal. On the bottom lands of the Mississippi River in Illinois, he said, land was cheap, and with industry a city might be built worthy of the Most High.

The lot of the British laboring classes was harsh, and the prospectus of the coming city of Nauvoo showed them how they would gain by moving to the United States.<sup>15</sup> One early convert found the Illinois country ideal for the English Mormons. A man could earn one dollar a day, he wrote, and commodities were cheap. His price list is worth noting:

Pigs—5 to 6 weeks old	\$ .25 each
Cows	14.00 each
Potatoes	.20 a bushel
Pork	.03 a pound
Beef	.03 a pound
Butter	.10 to .14 a pound
Sugar	.10 a pound
Hay	Free for the cutting
Free pasturage on plains	

The enthusiastic proselyte then added:

Now I would hold out unto them everything that is desirable and would say if you can get to this land, you will be better off than in England, for in this place there is a prospect of receiving every good thing both of this world and that which is to come.<sup>16</sup>

The first British Saints to migrate to the United States sailed from Liverpool on June 6, 1840. There were forty-one in the group, which arrived in New York on July 20.

While the missionaries were preaching the gospel by word of mouth, they

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Quorum was brought to its full strength by the appointment of Willard Richards on April 14, 1840, and Lyman Wight on April 8, 1841.

<sup>15</sup> For an understanding of the plight of the workers, the following list of books is suggestive: Henry Faucett, *The Economic Position of the British Labourer* (Cambridge, 1865); John C. Cobden, *op. cit.*; Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (London, 1930); Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (London, 1892); Earnest Llewellyn Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1939).

<sup>16</sup> *Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star* (Liverpool), February, 1841. This English periodical of the Mormons first appeared in 1840 and is still being published. Its early volumes are invaluable to the student of Mormonism.

did not overlook the written word as a means of furthering their work. Brigham Young, the president of the British mission, in reviewing the accomplishments of the first year, noted that five thousand copies of the Book of Mormon had been printed, as well as three thousand hymnbooks, fifty thousand tracts, and twenty-five hundred volumes of the *Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star*, a new Church periodical.<sup>17</sup> In addition, a permanent shipping agency had been established, by which a thousand persons had already emigrated to Nauvoo.

The gospel of the new dispensation found a receptive audience, and the Church grew strong in the British Isles. The following table shows the great growth of Mormonism in the period under discussion:

Year	Number of baptisms	Number of missionaries sent from America	Number of emigrants to America
1837	600	7	0
1838	727	0	0
1839	190	14	0
1840	2,326	5	240
1841	2,883	1	1,135
1842	3,216	2	1,614
1843	1,195	2	769
1844	1,762	10	623
1845	2,505	0	302
1846	2,354	19	50
1847	2,918	0	0
1848	6,520	12	755
1849	8,602	9	2,078
1850	8,017	9	1,612
1851	8,064	8	1,370
1852	6,665	43	732
1853	4,603	24	2,312
1854	4,530	25	2,534
1855	3,711	13	4,225
1856	3,947	42	5,000
1857	2,405	21	2,500
1858	1,298	0	50
1859	1,064	5	400
1860	1,928	48	Figures not available
1861	2,067	6	"
1862	1,517	19	"
1863	2,231	44	"
1864	1,910	33	"
1865	1,246	30	"
1866	856	30	"
1867	1,096	35	"
1868	2,091	15	"
1869	1,170	35	"

In one third of the first hundred years of Mormonism on the British Isles (1837-1937), the missionaries baptized 96,214 souls into the faith. Baptisms for the entire one hundred year period totaled only 126,593. At the same time

<sup>17</sup> *Life of Brigham Young*, p. 36.

it is worthy of note that 566 missionaries accomplished the task, as contrasted with 6,144 for the full century of Mormonism.<sup>18</sup>

Some of the early successes of the proselyters were undoubtedly due to the unique method of conversion. No sooner did a man profess his belief in the Mormon doctrines than he was baptized and made a missionary to go and convert others. Thus it was that the entire male membership in the Isles had roving commissions as missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

The Liverpool *Albion* noted that the exodus of the Mormons to Nauvoo was rapidly increasing and that they were "in appearance and worldly circumstances above the ordinary run of steerage passengers."<sup>19</sup>

The Apostles, having firmly planted the seeds of their gospel on British soil, went back to America, leaving Parley P. Pratt in charge of the British mission. He served for nearly a year, and left Elders Thomas Ward and Reuben Hedlock in charge at his departure.

President Hedlock embarked upon a plan by which he hoped to speed the ever-growing emigration to America. In July, 1844, he proposed that a joint-stock company be organized for the purpose of encouraging the industrialization of Nauvoo. Those who were in sympathy with the plan were to be permitted to purchase stock in the company.<sup>20</sup>

Elder Hedlock received advice from America to accelerate his activities by opening a general emigration office for both Mormons and non-Mormons, and he was admonished to "show the world" that he could "do a better and more honorable business than anybody else and more of it." Accordingly, he enlarged his base of operations and commenced negotiations with a Mr. Shaw who had large interests in Ireland, from which the people were being urged to migrate because of the famine. He also formed business connections with "the rascally brokers of Liverpool."<sup>21</sup>

Before any concrete results were achieved, however, events of far-reaching importance to the Church took place. Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were murdered in Carthage, Illinois, on June 27, 1844. Brigham Young shortly seized the reins of the Church in America, and, fearing that the non-Mormons would overrun his people, sent a proclamation to "the rulers and

<sup>18</sup> The data relating to the number of baptisms and missionaries were obtained from Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City, 1937), pp. 243-44, 245, a popular study of the missionaries. The charts must be treated with due caution as many that were baptized later fell away from the Church. Mr. Evans includes data regarding the number of emigrants but does not specify their destination; consequently it was considered advisable to use figures on the number of emigrants found in Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (2 vols., London, 1861), II, 223.

<sup>19</sup> Henry Caswall, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1843), p. 137.

<sup>20</sup> *Millennial Star*, July, 1844.

<sup>21</sup> Roberts, III, 123.

people of all nations" that the Church still lived and would continue to grow despite all forces that might be marshaled against it.<sup>22</sup> This proclamation received scant attention.

At the same time, the First Presidency urged President Hedlock to encourage by all possible means the rapid migration of the British Saints to America. In consequence, Hedlock proposed the quick adoption of the articles of "The Mutual Benefit Association." The more important provisions were as follows:

1. That this Joint Stock Company be called "The Mutual Benefit Association."
2. That it shall have for its objects the establishing of those branches of manufacture in America, which will be most beneficial, and return to the stockholders the greatest amount of profit, requiring at the same time the least amount of capital in erecting and carrying on its operations.
3. That this association shall bring over food and provisions from America, that the members may have abundance of those things both cheap and good, at a price considerably beneath that at which such provisions are usually supplied, that thus a saving far exceeding the weekly payment for one share shall be effected.
4. That its capital shall consist of not less than thirty thousand pounds, divided into sixty thousand shares of ten shillings each; that a deposit of one shilling per share shall be paid within two months from the date hereof, or within one month from the date of the application for shares at any future period; the remainder to be paid in equal parts weekly or monthly, during the following eighteen months.<sup>23</sup>

Steadily, from then on, President Hedlock cajoled his brethren to purchase shares in the new venture. At public meetings, conferences, and in the columns of the *Millennial Star* the Saints heard that the joint-stock company had received the official sanction of the Church heads in America.

In February, 1846, Brigham Young led the vanguard of his followers out of Nauvoo in the hope that they might find a western sanctuary from destroying mobs and vandals. During this trek, disquieting reports reached the leader that all was not well in England, and on July 31 he sent an apostolic delegation consisting of Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, and John Taylor to investigate conditions there. They found that little was being done toward ameliorating the lot of the poor or sending them to America. Hedlock had taken "high class offices," and the moneys collected from the Saints had been used to pay the salaries and traveling expenses of the officials. The Apostles immediately disassociated the company from the Church and notified the Mormons to "patronise the Joint-Stock Company no more for the present."

An examination of the books of the company disclosed that from receipts amounting to £1,644, there had been expended for travel, salaries, etc.,

<sup>22</sup> M. H. Cannon, "The Mormon Declaration of Rights," *Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1942. The document is given in its entirety.

<sup>23</sup> *Millennial Star*, April, 1845.

£1,418. The balance of £226 was apportioned among the stockholders, who received one shilling and threepence on the pound. President Hedlock and his associates were summarily excommunicated from the Church, and the company was dissolved.<sup>24</sup>

Brigham Young was not discouraged by this setback, and advised his co-religionists in the British Isles to sound out the government regarding a policy of having the Latter-Day Saints settle Vancouver Island. The British Mormons accordingly presented to the queen a memorial bearing nearly thirteen thousand signatures and stressing the following factors in favor of their plan: (1) It would remove from the Isles a great many poor and unemployed of the laboring classes. (2) As the land belonged to the British government, effectual colonization would forestall any attempt of the United States to seize it. (3) The China trade was opening wider vistas for the British Empire, and it would be advantageous to have colonists at Vancouver to carry on the trade. (4) The poor thus transported would work on the harbors and public works to repay the moneys advanced. (5) Cultivation of the rich soil would make the colonists self-sufficient and even enable them to send a surplus back to the home country.<sup>25</sup>

Her majesty's ministers heard the plea and were interested. John Bowring, M.P., asked for additional information which was joyfully furnished. When, however, he expressed the opinion that her majesty's government would be glad to see Vancouver settled by British subjects who had ample financial resources to be economically self-sufficient, the negotiations broke down.<sup>26</sup>

Although this plan also had failed, Brigham Young continued to advise the British Saints to migrate to either Oregon or Vancouver Island. On April 1, 1847, Elder Orson Spencer, then presiding over the British mission, urged them to migrate, but to no avail; they preferred to wait until final word was received from the Twelve Apostles in America.<sup>27</sup>

Brigham Young, however, had placed little hope in the scheme and had proceeded with plans which had already matured. His journey to the Great Basin and the establishment of Salt Lake City are well known. Scarcely had he and the pioneer party arrived in that desert land than Young commenced a campaign to bring converts from England to the Rocky Mountains. In December, 1847, he dispatched a trusted lieutenant, Orson Pratt, to the British Isles to summon the Saints to the shores of the Great Salt Lake. Part of the Mormon leader's message follows:

To the Saints in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and adjacent islands and countries, we say emigrate as speedily as possible to this vicinity . . . bringing with

<sup>24</sup> The information regarding the company was obtained from Roberts, III, 122-28.

<sup>25</sup> *Millennial Star*, Nov. 20, 1846. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1847.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Jensen, "Church Emigration," *Contributor*, XIII (November, 1891), 10-11.

you all kinds of choice seeds of grain, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines—everything that will please the eye, gladden the heart, or cheer the soul of man, that grows upon the face of the whole earth; also the best stock of beasts, birds, and fowls of every kind; also the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, and dressing cotton, wool, flax, silk, etc., etc., or models and descriptions of the same, by which they can construct them, and the same in relation to all kinds of farming utensils, and husbandry . . . and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health, and happiness or prosperity . . .<sup>28</sup>

This “Epistle” elaborated further upon the Rocky Mountain sanctuary. For the poor there was land for the asking. By tilling the soil frugally and carefully, one could become solvent. The more affluent brethren would find a golden opportunity to invest their moneys. By establishing factories and foundries, one would assure himself of good profits, and not only would reap a rich return on his investment but would derive the added satisfaction of knowing that he had been the means of furnishing a livelihood for worthy and distressed Saints.

Apostle Pratt found that his predecessors in England had sown the seed well and that there were many converts anxious to join their brethren in the West. Accordingly, he issued instructions on the method of travel to America.

The Saints who wished to migrate were to come to Liverpool with sufficient means to sustain themselves until a boatload was made up, and in addition should have sufficient funds to transport themselves from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake. The price of the ocean passage varied from three pounds five shillings to five pounds. Children between the ages of one and fourteen were carried for about ten shillings, and all infants under one year were carried free. The passage fare included the following foodstuffs for each passenger over the age of twelve months:

Good navy bread . . . . .	33 lbs.
Rice . . . . .	10 lbs.
Oatmeal . . . . .	10 lbs.
Wheat flour . . . . .	10 lbs.
Peas and beans . . . . .	10 lbs.
Potatoes . . . . .	35 lbs.
Vinegar . . . . .	1 pint
Salted pork . . . . .	10 lbs.
Fresh water . . . . .	60 gallons

The travelers who needed additional foodstuffs, utensils, bedding, etc., could obtain them from Pratt, who supplied them much cheaper since he was able to furnish them free from duty.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The General Epistle of the Latter-Day Saints* (Chicago, 1935). Mr. McMurtrie reproduced the original, which is supposed to have been the first printing job in Nebraska.

<sup>29</sup> *Millennial Star*, Aug. 15, 1848.



The staples named above were designed to sustain the health and bodily comfort of the emigrant until his arrival in the United States. From that point he was to be assisted by elders selected by the presiding authorities and stationed at the principal ports of debarkation.

The moderately affluent English members hastened to take advantage of these bargain rates. These people, however, were not necessarily the best colonists. Brigham Young shrewdly and quickly ascertained that perhaps the very type of man most needed for building up the desert wastes might be left behind because of financial distress. He therefore sent an epistle to the British Mormons of which the following is an extract:

. . . we wish the presiding elders of the conferences to search out . . . mechanics, . . . and have them emigrate immediately. Let those Saints who have means to spare help such mechanics emigrate in preference to anyone else, that is if they need help, for this is the will of the Lord that such should be helped to the Valley, first, that a good foundation should be laid against the time that others of the poor shall go. Let not the presiding elders be slothful upon this subject until it is accomplished. When you find mechanics . . . use every effort to get them off to the Salt Lake Valley. We shall expect you to communicate with us by letter upon this subject and let me know the prospects. Such mechanics are loudly called for and must be forthcoming.<sup>30</sup>

The missionaries heeded the request of their Prophet, but the results were meager. There were many converts, but those who had funds for transportation naturally desired to migrate themselves rather than to assist a less fortunate brother. The artisans who could most ably build a colony were those who, by their trade, could least afford to come to Utah. The mechanics of England were living upon a mere subsistence level and obviously did not have the means set aside for a venture into an uncharted wasteland upon an alien continent. Then, too, there were many poverty-stricken Nauvoo exiles still encamped at Council Bluffs without means to push on to Utah.

Brigham Young and his advisers, seeking some means of helping their poor brethren, finally created the Perpetual Emigrating Company, which was chartered by the general assembly of the provisional state of Deseret<sup>31</sup> in September, 1850. The scope of the charter was broad, and its officers were allowed considerable latitude in conducting the affairs of the company. They were appointed by the First Presidency of the Church and sustained by a show of hands by the membership at the next semiannual conference. Certain provisions of the charter follow:

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1849.

<sup>31</sup> The federal government never recognized the state of Deseret, although it existed as a "ghost government" until the late 1860's. The legislature of the territory of Utah, which was created by Congress in 1850, approved without exception all legislation enacted by the provisional assembly of Deseret.

*Section 2.* This Company is hereby made and constituted a body corporate under the name of the Perpetual Emigrating Company and shall have perpetual succession, and may have and use a common seal which they shall alter at pleasure.

*Section 3.* This Company under the name and style aforesaid shall have power to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended in all courts of the Law and Equity and in all actions whatsoever, to purchase, receive and hold property, real and personal; to receive either by donations or deposits or otherwise money, gold dust, grain, horses, mules, cows, oxen, young stock of all kinds, as well as any and every kind of valuables or property whatsoever, to emit bills of credit and exchange, to sell, lease, convey or dispose of property, real and personal and finally to do and perform any and all such acts as shall be necessary and proper for the interest, protection, and convenience or benefit of said company.

*Section 16.* All persons receiving assistance from the Perpetual Emigrating Fund for the Poor shall reimburse the same in labor or otherwise as soon as their circumstances will permit. . . .<sup>32</sup>

There were other miscellaneous provisions: Officers were to be selected at the Church semiannual conferences, interim appointments being made by the Church presidency; one of the company was to be a liaison officer between the emigrants and the company's officers; two islands in the Great Salt Lake were reserved exclusively for the company for the keeping of stock; the company had the right to hire or discharge employees; and its officers were to give bonds for \$10,000, each bond to be filed in the office of the general church recorder.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that the fund was to be a revolving one. No person was paid to come to Utah, but rather received an advance against his future earnings in the land of Zion. As soon as the convert arrived in Utah he gave his obligation to the Church, and when he was in a position to earn a little more than the necessities of life, he was expected to start paying off his obligation by one of three methods: (1) payment of money (this was seldom done in the 1850's, as money was a scarce commodity), (2) payment in kind, *e.g.*, livestock, adobe bricks, etc., and (3) payment in labor. As Brigham Young explained to Orson Hyde:

By this it will be readily discovered that the Funds are to be appropriated in the form of a loan rather than a gift; and this will make the honest in heart rejoice; for they love to labor and not live on the charity of their friends; while the lazy idlers, if any such there be, will find fault, and want every luxury furnished them, for their journey, and we will pay no such idlers; we have no use for them in the valley, they had better stay where they are.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool, 1855). This book is admirably illustrated by Mr. Piercy. Mr. Linforth gives a running text plus additional footnotes to accompany the engravings. The work is invaluable as a study of Mormon migration. For some reason, the Church authorities frowned on the book, and it was withdrawn from circulation.

<sup>33</sup> *Millennial Star*, Apr. 15, 1850.

The presiding bishop of the Church, Edward Hunter, was entrusted with the administration of the P.E.F. He received general instructions, but the broad matters of policy were predetermined. He gave his agents the following orders: Whenever they purchased needful articles, they should buy them with an eye to their value in the West and should choose commodities whose value would be enhanced in the Great Basin in preference to those whose worth would be the same or less in the Rockies. In addition, all brethren at home and abroad were urged to contribute heavily as far as their means would allow to the P.E.F. In the words of a contemporary Mormon poet, John Lyon:

Let richer Saints pour in their glitt'ring gold,  
 'T will pave your way to Zion's Mountain fold!  
 Ten thousand hearts, with prayerful ardour, seek  
 The means to live, yet mourn from week to week,  
 Who could be blest through your beneficence,  
 To go where labour gains a recompense!  
 Oh, then! let love your names in sums record  
 What you will do for Zion, and the Lord!  
 Ye poor who labour, learn with pure delight,  
 How much in *value* was the *widow's mite*!  
 How farthings multiplied to pence make pounds,  
 And pounds to hundreds, thousands—have no bounds!  
 Till every Saint reliev'd, and sinner *stunned*,  
 Will shout,—LOOK HERE! at this Perpetual Fund!<sup>34</sup>

The fund was designed solely to aid those worthy, distressed brethren who could help build up Zion and would have been unable otherwise to go to Utah. All who had the financial means were expected, nay, ordered, to pay their own passage across. The Church authorities directed the P.E.F. agents, however, to offer attractive terms to the more financially independent Mormons. For the sum of ten pounds, the Latter-Day Saints received transportation and subsistence for the journey from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake. The charge for a child under one year of age was five pounds. After 1853, however, it was found that ten pounds was insufficient, and the amount was raised to thirteen pounds per person.

The First Presidency did not stress only the practical advantages of Mormonism. The sermons of the proselyters followed the pattern of the old-time revivalists. Brigham Young himself definitely was not a "calamity howler." Being a practical man, he allowed his assistants to proclaim the theory of the "last days." Such men as Jedediah M. Grant, Orson Pratt, Orson Spencer, and Heber C. Kimball could do this for him. Said Orson Spencer, on leaving the British Isles:

<sup>34</sup> John Lyon, *The Harp of Zion* (Liverpool, 1853), pp. 41-42. The sums realized from the sale of this collection of poetry were turned over to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund.

. . . the beast and the false prophet must have their day, and when the great Babel of modern Christianity has fallen before their vengeful arm, they will make war against the Lamb. But the Lord shall come forth from His hiding place, and give Himself as a man of war in the day of battle and make an end of wickedness, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's under the whole heaven. But the usurpation and reign of the beast will evidently be a period of terror and mourning among many nations. From the plagues of that day, beloved brethren, we have been faithfully counselled and exhorted to make a timely escape, without needless delay.<sup>35</sup>

In the selection of the emigrants the Church manifested a commendable thoroughness. The presidents of the local branches through daily intercourse with the membership determined which persons were the most worthy of being assisted by the fund. The criteria were first, the integrity and moral worth of the applicant, and second, his occupation.

At the same time, the Utah elders cautioned the prospective traveler that life was harsh in the mountains. It was a challenge to his manhood. If he faced the privations of frontier life, great would be his future temporal reward and greater his celestial crown. His children would receive a goodly heritage. Deseret was to rise by "blood, sweat, and tears"—not by hymns and sermons of vague and nebulous spiritual salvation. The Kingdom of God was being built, the emigrant was told, and it was a privilege to be a part of this unfolding of God's plan. A Mormon versifier warned him:

Think not when you gather to Zion,  
The Saints here have nothing to do,  
But attend to your personal welfare,  
And always be comforting you.  
No, the Saints who are faithful are doing  
What their hands find to do with their might,  
To accomplish the gathering of Israel,  
They are toiling by day and by night.<sup>36</sup>

In the year 1854, the British House of Commons became aware that many of the poorer classes of England, unable to provide the bare necessities of existence, were migrating to distant colonies or to the United States. The members welcomed this emigration as a means of building up the outlying posts of the empire and at the same time of relieving the unemployment situation at home. A select committee investigated conditions, however, and found that many of the emigrants were being victimized by unscrupulous ships' agents. The committee called before it the Mormon agent, Samuel Richards, and asked him to explain the Mormon method of migration. This method, it developed, differed from all others, for the converts traveled in groups. The agent waited until a sufficient number were ready and then

<sup>35</sup> *Millennial Star*, Jan. 1, 1849.

<sup>36</sup> Eliza R. Snow, *Poems* (Liverpool, 1856), p. 234.

chartered a ship. In this way he could bargain for better rates and more comforts than would otherwise be the case. Then, too, the transport of the Saints was not a matter of speculation or personal remuneration to the agent. Those who migrated had been carefully selected from many applicants.

In the course of its investigation, the committee also questioned a Captain Shomburg of the Royal Navy:

Have you seen any of those [ships] that were conducted by the Mormons?

I have frequently, and have heard very satisfactory report of them.

To what do you attribute their peculiar advantages?

Their general good order and their being a great deal together and united and keeping their ships clean, and in an efficient state.<sup>37</sup>

On board those ships, which the Mormons had not chartered completely, the brethren kept to themselves, holding religious services, according to their custom, several times a day. In addition, the missionary in charge of a party gave lectures on conditions in Utah. Marriages, births, and deaths were frequent on shipboard. Scarcely a ship arrived in America without at least one of these having taken place. Infant mortality was especially high, as was the case on all emigrant ships of the time.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Great Britain, House of Commons, *Second Report from the Select Committee on Emigrant Ships*, XIII (Session 1854), 109.

<sup>38</sup> Neither wind nor wave nor childbirth prevented one Mormon emigrant from putting his sentiments on record:

#### I WILL NEVER FORGET

I shall never forget that day  
The time for me to go away  
And leave my Mother and Brothers three  
To go across the mighty Sea.

T'was in the morning at Eight o'clock  
The Ship Colcondala left the dock  
Then the Captain gave his command  
And took us Safe to Zion's land

. . . . .

#### WE WAS CROUDED

Now we are traveling up the river  
Crowded in that little Steamer  
But Still we felt to ask the Lord  
For to protect us all on board.

#### STARTING ON THE PLAINS

The first night we camped twas on the Indian Creek  
And my wife that very night was taken sick  
And before the night was over  
The Wife gave birth to a daughter

. . . . .

The British Saints generally landed at New Orleans and were met by the factor and transhipped by the Mississippi to St. Louis. At that city another of the P.E.F. agents met them and outfitted them for the journey across the plains.

Space and weight of the baggage were of primary concern; consequently, the emigrants were allowed a specified amount—for children under four years of age, none; for children from four to eight, fifty pounds; for adults from eight years on up, one hundred pounds. This last included clothing and bedding. In addition, each wagon that went westward was supplied with the following foodstuffs and necessary articles:

1,000 pounds of flour  
 50 pounds of sugar  
 50 pounds of bacon  
 20 pounds of dried apples and peaches  
 50 pounds of rice  
 5 pounds of tea  
 1 gallon of vinegar  
 10 bars of soap  
 25 pounds of salt  
 30 pounds of beans

These articles, combined with the fish and game caught along the trail, gave the saints a well-balanced diet. Although not elaborate, the food was better and in greater quantity than they had enjoyed in England.

It has been estimated that in the middle of the period under discussion (1852) there were approximately 32,000 converts in the British Isles, most of whom were drawn from the factory operatives and the mechanics of Great Britain. The following table shows the membership in the newly created centers:

Manchester	3,282
Birmingham	1,883
London	2,464
Norwich	1,061
Liverpool	1,041 <sup>39</sup>

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IN MEMORY OF THE JOURNEY

And when we left our Native land  
 To go west to the promise land  
 We felt So bad to leve behind  
 The deirest friends that was So kind.

I know that we was glad to See  
 The watters of the inland Sea  
 And the great City of the West  
 Where the pilgrim Shall have a rest.

John Johnson Davies, "Historical Sketch of my Life," manuscript in Library of Congress.

<sup>39</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah—1840-1886* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 407.

Jules Remy, who made an intensive study of Mormonism in the 1850's, drew up an estimate of the classes of emigrants according to occupation. The table below lists the occupations of a cross section of some one hundred adult males:

Blacksmiths .....	4
Shoemakers .....	6
Bakers .....	2
Masons .....	6
Mechanics .....	3
Farmers .....	7
Wheelwrights .....	2
Gardeners .....	2
Carpenters .....	2
Laborers .....	28
Miners .....	14
Miller .....	1
Sailors .....	2
Painter .....	1
Potter .....	1
Surveyors .....	2
Tailors .....	4
Trade not listed .....	13 <sup>40</sup>

One important feature of the P.E.F. which should not be overlooked was that it enabled persons residing in Utah to send for friends or relatives in England. They could deposit funds with the company in the Great Basin, and the English agent thereupon received instructions to send the parties out. By December, 1855, there had emigrated from the British Isles 949 persons in this class.<sup>41</sup>

The emigrants at this time might be considered as falling into one of four classes: first, those who had been ordered by friends in the valley; second, those whom the P.E.F. selected in England; third, those who belonged in the £10 (later the £13) emigrant class; and fourth, those who traveled in the ordinary way and paid the normal expenses.<sup>42</sup>

As the Mormon missionaries had by now established branches of the Church upon the Continent, Liverpool became the European depot for travel to America. The Saints gathered there, and when sufficient numbers were assembled, a ship was chartered and the emigrants were sent as a unit.

Although the Perpetual Emigrating Company, private charity, and independent means had brought many converts to Zion, there still remained in England impoverished proselytes who earnestly desired to join their fellow

<sup>40</sup> Remy, II, 224-25.

<sup>41</sup> Jenson, in *Contributor*, XIII (December, 1891), 82-83.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, January, 1892, p. 135.



saints in the mountains. The fund had been heavily drawn upon, and its facilities were taxed to the breaking point as importunity followed importunity. It is estimated that for the year 1853 expenditures totaled thirty thousand pounds. The biggest outlay from the meager resources was for teams and wagons for the trek across the plains. As early as 1851 it was proposed to spread the money farther by having the emigrants travel overland by a less expensive method. On September 26 of that year, the First Presidency told the saints throughout the world:

Some of the saints, now in our midst, came hither with wagons or carts made of wood, without a particle of iron, hooping their wheels with hickory, or rawhide, or ropes, and had as good and safe a journey as any in the camps, with their well wrought iron wagons, and can you not do the same? Yes, if you have the same desire, the same faith. Families might start from the Missouri river, with cows, handcarts, wheelbarrows, with little flour and no unnecessaries, and come to this place quicker and with less fatigue than by following the heavy trains, with their cumbrous herds, which they are often obliged to drive miles to feed. Do you not like this method of travelling? Do you think that salvation costs too much? If so, it is not worth having.<sup>43</sup>

Not until 1855, however, did Brigham Young decide to have the Saints travel west by means of handcarts. In the *Millennial Star* of December 22, 1855, the editor stressed the advantages that would accrue by using that method of transportation: (1) Travel by ox teams was slow and costly and should give way to "the telegraph line of handcarts and wheelbarrows."<sup>44</sup> (2) It would save time and eliminate the trouble of yoking the oxen and the difficulty of finding sufficient grazing places for them. (3) Handcart companies having few animals would not tempt the Indians. (4) The method would reduce the cost of the journey from England to two thirds and probably, after the first year, to one half. (5) The trip could be made in two weeks' less time than by ox team. (6) As most of the British Saints arrived at the frontier about the first of May, they could push on to Utah instead of waiting for the grass to grow.<sup>45</sup>

In the spring of 1856 about thirteen hundred handcart emigrants arrived in America from Liverpool. On the ninth and eleventh of June the first two handcart companies, guided by experienced plainsmen, left Iowa City. The first group, under Edmund Ellsworth, consisted of 266 persons and 52 handcarts; the second, under Daniel D. McArthur, was composed of 220 people and 44 handcarts. Eight teams were divided between the two companies. On September 26 the parties entered Salt Lake City. The citizens met them on the outskirts of town and a great celebration followed. The new system was

<sup>43</sup> Roberts, IV, 83-84.

<sup>44</sup> *Millennial Star*, Dec. 22, 1855.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

pronounced an unqualified success. About this time the "Hand-Cart Song" was composed and sung to the tune of "A Little More Cider." Two of the stanzas ran:

Who cares to go with the wagons?  
Not we who are free and strong;  
Our faith and arms, with a right good will,  
Shall pull our carts along.

*Chorus:* Hurrah for the Camp of Israel!  
Hurrah for the hand-cart scheme!  
Hurrah! Hurrah! 'tis better far  
Than the wagon and ox team.<sup>46</sup>

The cost of transporting the Saints from Florence, Nebraska, to Salt Lake City was estimated at \$22.30 per person.<sup>47</sup>

Rejoicing was premature, as tragedy followed in the wake of the next two companies. In August, 1856, two groups of over nine hundred persons, under Edward Martin and James G. Willie, set out from Florence. These zealots started late, and though seasoned plainsmen warned them against journeying so late in the year, they felt sure that they could reach the Utah valleys before inclement weather set in. They started with but a scanty supply of provisions, and from the beginning rationing was enforced. One of the elders, Levi Savage, counseled them to tarry until they could obtain sufficient provisions, but he was overruled and the emigrants pushed on. When they reached Wood River, the cattle stampeded and thirty head were lost. The milch cows and heifers were yoked to the wagons that drew the heavy loads. This fact and the sparse vegetation caused a further reduction of rations. The beef and milk rations were stopped, and one pound of flour, with a little rice, sugar, and bacon constituted the daily allowance. It sufficed some of the men for breakfast only. As the travelers pushed farther into the West, a party of missionaries overtook them and promised to secure provisions for them at Fort Laramie and to send on help from Salt Lake. At Laramie, however, the promised foodstuffs were not forthcoming, and the daily portion of food became still less. Men able to work received twelve ounces; women and old men, nine ounces; and children four to eight ounces.

The snows came early, and the suffering of the party became acute. The old and sick weakened and died. To add to their miseries, the supply of flour gave out. Starving and freezing, the weary pioneers floundered through the snow and in ever-increasing numbers sickened and died. Brigham Young heard of their plight and sent out wagons of provisions, bedding, and clothing.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), p. 333.

<sup>47</sup> *Millennial Star*, Jan. 21, 1860.

The experiment had cost dear—222 people perished and others were permanently maimed or frost-bitten.<sup>48</sup>

There were other small handcart parties in 1857, 1859, and 1860, but the Church never again embarked on a large-scale migration by handcart.<sup>49</sup>

In the spring of 1860, an ox train of twenty-nine wagons left Salt Lake City for Florence to obtain merchandise, machinery, etc. It completed the trip successfully and returned in the first part of October. The oxen had stood the journey well and appeared to be in as good condition as those which had traveled but one way. The success of this venture was such that the Church authorities decided to meet all future parties with wagons and oxen from the valleys and to transport them to Salt Lake City by this method, which became known as the "Church Train."<sup>50</sup> It should be remembered that these trains were run for the benefit of the deserving poor. Those who had sufficient means came independently, although many traveled with the others for the sake of fellowship and the advantage of going with experienced plainsmen.

The entrance of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, as a consequence of which the Mormon converts began to arrive in Utah by the more conventional modes of travel, brought to a close the period of experimentation, during which over 30,000 British Mormons had migrated to America and played a memorable part in the building of the West.

<sup>48</sup> Roberts, IV, 102.

<sup>49</sup> On April 23, 1857, a party of seventy-four missionaries with twenty-five handcarts left Salt Lake. In addition, two small companies arrived in Salt Lake without any mishap during the year. During the year of the "Mormon War" (1858) there was no immigration to Utah. In 1859 one company of 235 souls and 60 handcarts successfully made the trip. The last party of handcart pioneers arrived in Salt Lake City on August 27, 1860. It consisted of 233 persons and 43 handcarts.

<sup>50</sup> Roberts, V, 106-111, gives an excellent account of the "Church Train." The following table, which shows the number of trains sent from Salt Lake City to Florence, is compiled from information contained in that work:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Wagons</i>	<i>Oxen</i>	<i>Provisions</i>
1861	?	200	?	150,000 lb. of flour
1862	293	262	2,880	143,315 " " "
1863	488	384	3,604	235,969 " " "
1864	277	170	1,717	"proportionate amount"
1865	none (funds exhausted)			
1866	456 teamsters	397	3,042	?
	49 guards			
1867	none (Black Hawk Indian War)			

In 1868, five hundred teams were sent to Laramie City in Wyoming, then the western terminus of the railroad.

# Gerbert, the Teacher

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON\*

GERBERT, the peasant boy from Aurillac in old Auvergne, now central France, is well known as pope (Sylvester II, 999–1003), as a scholar, as one of the most facile letter writers of the Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> as a politician who played a significant role in the rise of the Capetian dynasty in France, and as a statesman who exerted decisive influence upon the young German king and emperor, Otto III. These political and literary aspects of Gerbert's life have been noted in detail by his modern biographers and recently re-emphasized when French scholars, in 1938, celebrated the thousandth anniversary of his birth.<sup>2</sup>

Proper attention has not, however, been given to Gerbert's remarkable work as a teacher who in the tenth century displayed the best qualities of a humanist and whose teaching methods, devices, and results rank him among

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<sup>1</sup> Julien Havet, ed., *Lettres de Gerbert*, 983–997 (Paris, 1889), has long been standard, and his numbering of the letters (*Ep.* for *Epistola*) is used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbert's millenary celebration produced several reappraisals of his place in history without breaking new ground in regard to his teaching. Pierre Bayle-Montaigu's article, "Le Millenaire de Gerbert," in *La revue universelle*, LXXIV, no. 10 (Aug. 15, 1938), 493–503, is a repetition of well-known facts. More sparkling is Paul Basted, "Le Millenaire de Gerbert," in *Revue politique et parlementaire*, XLV, no. 525 (Aug. 8, 1938). The most valuable is that by Ferdinand Lot, "Étude sur le recueil des lettres de Gerbert," in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, C (January, 1939), 6–62, who demonstrates in a basic study of Gerbert's writings that Havet cannot be relied upon too blindly.

Wide disagreement exists among Gerbert scholars as to the date of his birth, ranging from 938 to 950. French scholars chose the earliest possible date for their celebration, but a later date, 946, has more to be said for it from the sources, and fixes Gerbert's millenary in this past year. The date can only be conjectured from Richer (*Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 43; see note 33 below), writing in 996 that Gerbert was *adolescens* when he left Aurillac for Spain in 967. Had he been born as early as 938 he would be twenty-nine years old in 967 (certainly too old to be termed *adolescens*), and thirty-four when he began teaching at Rheims in 972. In a letter (*Ep.* 179) written in 991, Gerbert refers to his early days at Rheims by saying that he knew the city *a puero*. Such a man would hardly term himself a boy at thirty-four. In *Ep.* 194 Gerbert uses the words *adolescens* and *youth* in a way that shows his concept of them to be the ordinary ones: *quae adulescens didici, juvenis amisi, et quae juvenis concupivi, senex contempsit*. Havet (p. v) figures Gerbert was born at the earliest in 940, at the latest in 945. R. S. Allen, "Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II," in *English Historical Review*, VII (1892), 626, accepts the year 945. This date would make Gerbert twenty-two when he went to Spain and twenty-seven when Otto I, Pope John XIII, and Adalbero became interested in his future. But *adolescens* would hardly apply to anyone over twenty-one and certainly not *puer*. Therefore I incline to a date between the 945 of Havet and Allen and the 950 of H. O. Taylor and Sandys, certainly not earlier than 946. This would place Gerbert's millenary in the year 1946 and confine his teaching career between the ages of twenty-seven and forty-three. A contemporary, Abbon, became in 977 the *scholasticus* at Fleury at the age of twenty-seven (M. Cuissard-Gaucheron, "L'École de Fleury-sur-Loire à la fin du dixième siècle," *Mémoires de la Société Archeologique et Historique de l'Orleanais*, XIV [1875], 585.)

the great teachers of all times.<sup>3</sup> This paper will consider him solely in these aspects, in the belief that Gerbert was primarily important as *scholasticus*. In this capacity he was eminently successful, original, and truly great, and his later honors came as a result of his own outstanding education and teaching.

Gerbert's great work was done in the cathedral school at Rheims between the years 972 and 989 A.D. With the exception of the year 983, during which he was absent on an ill-fated "administrative appointment" as abbot of Bobbio,<sup>4</sup> Gerbert headed this school and made it famous by his genius and enthusiasm as a teacher.

Gerbert's formal training for such a position was as unusual for the tenth century as the man himself. His education made him heir to three widely divergent and even hostile sources of inspiration: the Christian Cluniac and Lotharingian enthusiasm for monastic reform and the good life, the pagan Latin classics, and the Moslem-tintured scholarship of tenth century Spain. The combination of these three, in varying degrees, produced Gerbert.

Christian Cluniac enthusiasm pervaded the monastery of Saint Gerauld at Aurillac in which Gerbert was reared. This monastery was itself young in the tenth century, having been founded in 984, less than fifty years prior to Gerbert's entry. Above all, the famous Odo, abbot of Cluny, was previously abbot of Saint Gerauld, so that during Gerbert's formative years it was an important center for the Cluniac revival of spiritual earnestness in monastic life.<sup>5</sup> Thus Gerbert's early education was received in one of the best monasteries of the tenth century, under the guidance of two remarkably spiritual men, Abbot Gerauld and the monk Raymond, Gerbert's teacher, who later succeeded Gerauld as abbot.

Gerbert's letters to these two men and to his "brothers" in the monastery are among the finest he ever wrote and bear witness to the character of his Christian education. The happy days at Aurillac and the sound classical training given him there by Raymond increased in value to him as he first became a teacher on his own and then was drawn into the intricate affairs of high politics where the intrigue and duplicity of medieval statecraft contrasted

<sup>3</sup> The only books which profess to examine Gerbert exclusively as a teacher are P. L. Péchenard, *De Schola Remensi Decimo Saeculo* (Paris, 1875), a D. ès-L. thesis of eighty-seven pages written in Latin and quoting extensively from Richer, and Karl Otto Schultess, *Papst Sylvester II als Lehrer und Staatsmann* (Hamburg, 1891).

<sup>4</sup> Gerbert planned to continue his teaching activities at Bobbio, as seen from a letter he wrote on arriving there to Ecbert, archbishop of Trèves (*Ep.* 13): "You know the magnanimity of our Lord Caesar, his solicitude and extraordinary appetite for learned men. Thus if you are in doubt whether you should send scholars to us in Italy, here is our definite agreement: those you approve we will approve; what you recommend we will accept."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Alexandre Olleris, "Gerbert, Aurillac et son monastère," *Memoires Acad. Clermont-Ferrand* (1862), B, IV, 161 ff. (separately printed at Clermont, 1862). G. M. F. Bouange, *St. Geraud d'Aurillac et son illustre abbaye* (2 vols., Aurillac, 1881-85).

sharply with the character of his early training. Throughout his life whenever despair, defeat, or compromise overshadowed him, he turned for strength to his old teachers at Aurillac. From his school at Rheims after his reverses at Bobbio he wrote to Abbot Gerauld, who had reared him:

I do not know that divinity has given to mortals anything better than friends. Happy day, happy hour, where I am permitted to know a man the remembrance of whose name alone suffices to make me forget all my pain. If I could only see him oftener I would be the happier. To this end I had stationed myself in Italy in a not ignoble position. But blind fortune which governs the world, dropped me into profound darkness, directing me in my course first toward one extreme then the other. The face of my friend remains fixed in my heart. I say this friend is my lord and father, Gerauld, whose counsel shall be my all in all.<sup>6</sup>

On the same occasion (984) he poured out his heart in a separate letter to his old teacher, Raymond, in the kind of epistle, when it is sincere, that teachers like to receive from former pupils. It shows genuine appreciation for what Raymond taught him in the application of learning to life, and shows that Gerbert passed on to his own pupils some of the light he had received seventeen years earlier from his own teacher to whom he writes:

With what appreciation we regard what you taught us, the Latins and Barbarians know, who are the recipients of the fruits of our own labors. They earnestly wish to see you since of course you are at liberty, whereas I, burdened with troubles, stay here for no other reason than to study. The one and only remedy for such cares is philosophy. Its study has often procured for me precious advantages; it has helped me, for example, in these times of trouble, has deadened the blows of fortune inflicting its fury upon others and upon myself. In effect, as public affairs were at this time in Italy, it was necessary if we sought any other shelter than our innocence, to submit shamefully to the bondage of tyrants; or, if we attempted to protect ourselves with force, we would have had to seek protectors on all sides, to fortify castles, to inflict pillage, fire and murder. We have chosen the sure calm of peace rather than the uncertainties of war.

Whereas we do not always arrive when we follow the trail of philosophy, we cannot keep down all the tumults of an agitated soul. We momentarily return to that which we have abandoned. Sometimes moved by the advice of my friend, Abbot Guarin,<sup>7</sup> I think of seeking the Spanish princes; then by the sacred letters of our empress, the lady Theophano, ever august, ever to be revered, we are driven to abandon our previous intention. In this perpetual fluctuation of grief, fear, pleasure, longing, Gerbert, special son of the most devoted of fathers, Gerauld, whom these evils cannot hurt, implores advice on the line of action to follow.<sup>8</sup>

The feeling in this letter is genuine. If it reads more like an outburst from a pagan Roman than the outpouring of a medieval Christian spirit reared in a

<sup>6</sup> *Ep.* 46.

<sup>7</sup> Guarin, whom Gerbert met on his stay in the Spanish March, was abbot of St. Michel de Cuxa, diocese of Elan, in the Pyrenees.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep.* 45.

monastery, it is because Raymond, for all his known piety, appears to have anchored his pupil firmly to the Latin classics.

The well-known conflict between the classical and ecclesiastical literature, pagan versus Christian, which raged in many medieval minds and broke out into such dreams as that of Odo of Cluny and visions such as Othloh's, seemed sublimely harmonized in Raymond.<sup>9</sup> He was deeply pious, spiritual, and Christian. He was also steeped in Latin literature even though the monastic reformers of his times strongly proscribed it. Raymond knew how to inspire in his pupils a mellow love for the classics as witnessed by Gerbert, who wrote that Raymond "shone forth with the double light of religion and science."<sup>10</sup> This was no easy accomplishment in the early Middle Ages, when giants like Jerome and Gregory the Great found Christ and Cicero incompatible. Gerbert himself suffered keenly from the suspicions of his contemporaries on this ground. The papal legate, Leo, in 995, opposed his elevation to the archbishopric of Rheims on the basis that "the vicars of Peter and their disciples will not have for their teacher a Plato, a Virgil, a Terence or any other of that herd of philosophers."<sup>11</sup>

Though Gerbert often writes, as above, like a Roman, more particularly like Boethius, whose "real religion is philosophy,"<sup>12</sup> yet his letters to Raymond habitually end with a request that his devout old teacher remember him in his prayers. In 995, eight years before Gerbert's death, he wrote a wonderful tribute to his teacher in a letter addressed to the entire monastic chapter at Aurillac:

It is from you all in general that I remember having acquired the benefits of my education, but more particularly from father Raymond. If I have acquired any knowledge it is, after God, to him more than to any other mortal that I owe it.<sup>13</sup>

Gerbert was at the peak of his fame as a learned man when, on his temporary elevation to the archbishopric of Rheims in 995, he chose another gracious way to compliment his old master. He wrote a perfectly balanced sentence to Raymond expressing an eternal truth of the educational world: *Discipuli victoria, magistri est gloria*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For an interesting collection of such dreams and stories see A. Graf, *Roma del medio evo* (2 vols., Turin, 1883), excerpts of which are readily available in D. C. Munro and G. C. Sellery's source book, *Medieval Civilization* (New York, 1924), chapter on "The Latin Classics in the Middle Ages."

<sup>10</sup> *Ep.* 91.

<sup>11</sup> The interesting letter elaborating upon this statement, addressed to the kings Hugh and Robert, is printed in Alexandre Olleris, ed., *Oeuvres de Gerbert* (Clermont and Paris, 1867), pp. 237-43.

<sup>12</sup> Edward K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 139, citing E. Zeller, *Grundriss der Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep.* 194.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*



Few details are known of Gerbert's course of study under Raymond. Richer simply states that he was taught grammar.<sup>15</sup> Grammar, which covers too little today, tended to include too much in the Middle Ages. Barthélemy expands Richer's meager statement to contain literature, theology, history, philosophy, and logic.<sup>16</sup> Gerbert's wide knowledge of Latin literature, indeed his absorption in this to the apparent exclusion of theological literature as revealed in his correspondence and in the curriculum he set up for his pupils at Rheims in 972, is rooted in Aurillac. Yet Gerbert demonstrates his thorough familiarity with the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers in his long "apologia" (*Ep.* 217), written in his own defense against the accusations of the papal legate. He also shows his enemies that he can write good sermons in the truly medieval fashion.<sup>17</sup>

But Raymond was not interested in the exact sciences, and Abbot Gerauld saw Gerbert intellectually outgrow the offering of Aurillac. Thus when Borel, newly made duke of Hither Spain (count of Barcelona), stopped at the monastery of Saint Gerauld's in 967, he was

received most warmly by the abbot of that monastery. After the two had talked over many things, the abbot inquired whether Spain contained any scholars very learned in the arts. When the duke very promptly asserted that there were, he was at once persuaded by the abbot to take one of the monks with him for the purpose of having him further instructed. Therefore, since the duke had no objections, he freely granted the favor, and with the unanimous consent of the brothers took Gerbert as their choice, and turned him over to Bishop Hatto to be taught, with whom he studied mathematics extensively and successfully.<sup>18</sup>

Richer tells little more. Gerauld and Raymond thought first of their pupil's future and, as we would say today, arranged for his acceptance into the best "graduate school" of the times.

Thus it was that Gerbert drank from the third well of inspiration and acquired his remarkable knowledge of mathematics. The question has never been satisfactorily settled as to how far Gerbert was influenced by Moslem Spain, then at the peak of its brilliance under Al-Hakam. Although Gerbert is silent upon the subject of his Spanish studies, he made several lifelong friends in the Spanish March with whom he occasionally corresponded. One was Guarin, who as we have seen tried to persuade Gerbert to come back to Spain after he was driven out of Bobbio. Guarin made at least one journey up

<sup>15</sup> "... *grammatica edoctus est.*" Richer, III, 43.

<sup>16</sup> Edouard de Barthélemy, *Gerbert, étude sur sa vie et ses ouvrages* (Paris, 1868), p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> His "Sermo de Informatione Episcoporum" (*Oeuvres*, pp. 269-78) is more original and interesting than his sermon "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini" (*ibid.*, pp. 278-91).

<sup>18</sup> Richer, III, 43. This literal translation of Richer makes it clear that the initiative came from Abbot Gerauld instead of Borel as William J. Townsend (*Great Schoolmen* [London, 1881], p. 67) has erroneously stated.

to Saint Gerauld's at Aurillac, where he left a book on the multiplication and division of numbers edited by Joseph the Spaniard. Gerbert very much wanted this book and wrote Abbot Gerauld for a copy.<sup>19</sup> Impatient at the delay he soon afterwards wrote to another of his Spanish friends, Bonifilius, apparently a former fellow student under Hatto, requesting from him a copy of the same book.<sup>20</sup> This was in 984, when Bonifilius had become the bishop of Girone. A third Spanish acquaintance of Gerbert was a certain Lupitus of Barcelona, to whom he wrote requesting "the book on astronomy which was translated by you."<sup>21</sup> It is logical to assume that this book was a translation from the Arabic, and as such partly indicates the nature of Moslem influence upon Gerbert.

Modern French scholars have gone to great lengths to clarify the thesis that Gerbert learned his mathematics from the writings of Boethius and not from the Moslems. It is of course true that the works of Boethius were included in the curriculum of his school at Rheims and that Gerbert held the great Roman in the highest regard.<sup>22</sup> However, it was in the Spanish March, according to Richer, whose testimony cannot be discounted, that Gerbert studied mathematics, and his contacts there provided him with at least two volumes that were probably more closely related to Arabic learning than they were to Boethius. Moreover, it was Gerbert's knowledge of mathematics that singled him out so uniquely when Borel and Hatto took their pupil to Rome in 971. Pope John XIII was struck by it, and Otto I, whose brother Bruno was an ardent reader of the classics, acted as though he had found a curiosity. Obviously Gerbert's mathematical knowledge was of a different order from anything known at the time in Christendom,<sup>23</sup> at least wholly unlike anything either the pope or the emperor had experienced, and they both must have known scholars acquainted with the writings of Boethius. The very novelty of Gerbert's knowledge is significant, and strong evidence that Gerbert had at least supplemented Boethius with extraneous sources.

Surprisingly little basic work has been done in Spanish archives or among Arabic sources on Gerbert's trip to Spain.<sup>24</sup> Even so well known a repository

<sup>19</sup> *Ep.* 17.

<sup>20</sup> *Ep.* 25.

<sup>21</sup> *Ep.* 24.

<sup>22</sup> Gerbert later inspired his imperial pupil, Otto III, with such enthusiastic regard for Boethius that Otto erected a monument to his memory, for which Gerbert wrote an epigram. In it he broadly traces the career of Boethius as the "father and light of his country," who "shed light through learning and yielded not a whit in rank to the genius of the Greeks," ending with: "Now renowned authority, who so supremely dominates the arts, the third Otto himself judges you fitting for his court, and has erected a permanent monument to your labors, and fittingly embellishes merit with distinguished favors." For "Gerberti Carmina" see *Oeuvres*, p. 294.

<sup>23</sup> Richer writes (III, 44), "*musica et astronomia in Italia tunc penitus ignorabantur.*"

<sup>24</sup> M. Gainet, "Le Voyage de Gerbert en Espagne," *Travaux de l'Académie de Reims*, XV (1851), 218-32, is the only study that devotes itself exclusively to the subject. It uses French sources entirely, devoting the bulk of its contents to a general comparison of Christian and Moslem culture in the tenth century and refers to Gerbert only in broad terms.

as the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* in Barcelona is, on the authority of the late Professor Merriman, still "largely unexplored and especially rich on the medieval period."<sup>25</sup> Provincial libraries at Vich<sup>26</sup> and Gironne might contain material upon Gerbert's friends and upon the educational background of Bishop Hatto,<sup>27</sup> Gerbert's mathematics teacher. "Joseph the Spaniard" and his work are as yet unknown. So is the "translation" of Lupitus of Barcelona.

The great question in Gerbert's academic record is whether he visited Moslem Spain as a student. Many secondary writers accept at least a modicum of the many legends which support the thesis that he did, but the known contemporary evidence is meager and unreliable. Ademar de Chabannes (988-1030) is the only writer born in the tenth century to mention Gerbert's studying at Cordova.<sup>28</sup> If Gerbert toured the peninsula while living upon the patronage of the count of Barcelona, some ravelings of evidence must have got into the writings of Arabian or Jewish scholars. As yet modern students of Gerbert have not tapped sufficiently the possibilities of these sources.

Gerbert might easily have visited Cordova, since diplomatic relations between Cordova and Christian European rulers were not infrequent at this period. Abderrahman sent aid to Sancho, king of Leon in 959, and even exchanged ambassadors with the emperor, Otto I.<sup>29</sup> It is not significant that neither Gerbert's letters nor the *Historia* of Richer mention the trip. His extant letters are a fraction of the many he wrote and include only a very few

<sup>25</sup> Roger B. Merriman, "Spain and Portugal," in Dutcher's *Guide to Historical Literature* (New York, 1931), p. 641.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. as a beginning J. Serra y Campdelacreu, *El Archivo municipal de Vich, su historia, su contenido y su restauracion* (Madrid, 1880), and "Codices é incunables de la catedral de Vich en 1806," *Bol. Acad. Histor.*, XXV (Madrid, 1894), 320-31.

<sup>27</sup> "Atton Arzobispo, Maestro del Papa Silvester II," *España Sagrada*, XXVIII, 92-100, deals thoroughly with Hatto's trip to Rome in 970 at the end of Gerbert's period of study with him.

<sup>28</sup> How elaborate stories sometimes develop out of a mere scrap of dubious source material is illustrated by the growth of legends around Gerbert's voyage to Spain. Ademar de Chabannes, writing fifteen years after Gerbert's death, starts the legend when he writes: ". . . pursuing knowledge he journeyed first to France then to Cordova" ("*causa sophiae primo Franciam, deinde Cordobam lustrans.*" Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLI, 49.) Fifty years later Benno, cardinal of the antipope Guibert, adds to Ademar's statement the phrase, "where he studied science and magic" (*Oeuvres*, p. cxc) and elaborates upon Gerbert as a sorcerer. In the early twelfth century the English William of Malmesbury spins these two accounts into a wild yarn depicting Gerbert "fleeing by night into Spain, chiefly designing to learn astrology and other sciences of that description from the Saracens," telling how "he resided with a certain philosopher of that sect," and by means of magic got into and out of a series of exciting scrapes. William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle* (Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1847), pp. 173-74. In the nineteenth century Barthélemy makes a hash of Ademar and Benno, adding something of his own, when he writes: "Adamar de Chabannes, his contemporary, even asserts that he travelled as far as Cordova and Seville, not hesitating to contact the learned Arab scholars." Barthélemy, p. 3. Finally the *Catholic Encyclopedia* in an unsigned article, "Sylvester II," uses a composite story made up from Richer, Ademar, Benno, and Barthélemy: "He was then taken by a Spanish count into Spain, where he studied at Barcelona and also under Arabian teachers at Cordova and Seville, giving much attention to mathematics and the natural sciences."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the biography of John of Gorze, Otto I's ambassador, in Jean Mabillon, ed., *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, saec. V, 402-407.

(all from royalty) of the many he received. The selection was made by Gerbert himself. Thus we must bear in mind that we see Gerbert in his letters through the medium of his own censorship. The accurate, political common sense of a man like Gerbert, who aspired to high ecclesiastical offices, would dictate silence upon a subject that ran counter to the contemporary popular sentiment of Christendom.

Wherever or however Gerbert acquired his knowledge, unrivaled among his contemporaries, he was ready to teach by 971 and in Rome looking around for a good position. His choice fell upon Rheims, the ecclesiastical center of France. As luck would have it, Garamnus, archdeacon of Rheims, noted for his knowledge of logic and the outstanding scholar of Rheims, was then in Rome as ambassador from Lothair, king of France, to Otto, king of Italy. Though Otto offered Gerbert a position as tutor to his son, the future Otto II, Gerbert refused this excellent opening which would have directed his life into Italian and German channels. For some unexplained reason Gerbert suddenly wanted to study logic under Garamnus. At Gerbert's request Otto turned him over to the archdeacon, who was flattered and took him home with him to Rheims. Garamnus taught Gerbert logic; in return, Gerbert gave him lessons in music and mathematics.

In Rheims, circumstances could hardly have been more propitious for Gerbert's advent. Adalbero, wealthy brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, and newly elected archbishop of Rheims in 969, had during the first two years of his primacy introduced sweeping reforms in his diocese.<sup>30</sup> Adalbero was a disciple of John of Gorze, the father of monastic reform in Lorraine, and a vital force for the revival of spirituality and learning in both the monastic and secular branches of his clergy. In 971, while Gerbert was in fact at the papal court, Adalbero journeyed to Rome, where he was received most graciously and warmly by John XIII. The archbishop and the pope worked zealously together for the completion of Adalbero's reform plans. Thus John XIII knew exactly what Adalbero needed for their completion. It was a *scholasticus*, fired with a similar zeal for the *Regula*, equipped with a wide scholarship, and above all capable of inspiring students with the love of learning, that Adalbero needed to make his cathedral school into a progressive force in the reformation of his church.

"While he was thinking along these lines," writes Richer, "wondering how he could improve the calibre of his school, . . . Gerbert was directed towards him by God himself."<sup>31</sup> Knowing Gerbert as we do, it is no surprise to find Adalbero seizing upon him with gratitude as a gift from heaven. "Gerbert

<sup>30</sup> Richer, III, 22-24.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 42, 43.

recommended himself to the archbishop by the high order of his studies and won his esteem ahead of all others. Upon the request of Adalbero, he took charge of the crowd of pupils coming to him for instruction in the arts."<sup>32</sup>

Gerbert's teaching methods are described at greater length and detail than those of most medieval teachers, by one of his pupils, a young monk of Rheims, Richer, the son of a French nobleman.<sup>33</sup> Gerbert had many students reputedly more illustrious than Richer, but Richer remained with Gerbert longer than any other student, possibly working under him as instructor, and is the only writer to describe the methods by which Gerbert made knowledge clear and interesting in his classroom, and standard in the classrooms presided over by his pupils in the next generation.

Richer's description of the course of study in the Rheims school is undoubtedly based upon his own education under Gerbert. He begins by listing the "textbooks" Gerbert used in teaching dialectics, logic, and rhetoric.

He taught dialectics by running through a series of books accompanied with learned words of explanation. The first book he explained was Porphyry's *Isagoge* or *Introduction*, according to the translation of the rhetorician Victorinus and also according to Boethius; then the *Categories* or the book of *Propositions* of Aristotle, properly explaining it. However, he showed most ably the contents of the *Periermenias* or the *De Interpretatione*. Finally he initiated his listeners to the *Topica*, which is the foundation of argumentation, translated by Cicero from the Greek into Latin and explained in a commentary of six books by the consul Boethius.

Besides this, he read and expounded profitably four books on different topics, two on categorical syllogisms, three on hypothetics and one book on definitions,

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 45.

<sup>33</sup> The ms. of Richer's "Historiarum Libri Quatuor," neither circulated nor copied in his own day or subsequently, was found by Pertz in the library of Bamberg in 1833. It was the original, written and amended by Richer himself. No copies exist. Pertz edited the ms. in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, III (1839), 501-657, and this edition was reprinted in Migne, CXXXVIII, 17-170. In 1877 G. Waitz re-examined the Bamberg ms. and the edition of Pertz, and printed a more accurate edition as *Richer's Historiarum Libri IIII* (Hanover, 1877) in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis*. A German translation with an introduction by Wattenbach is R. von der Sacken, *Richer's vier Bücher Geschichte, nach der Ausgabe der "Monumenta Germaniae"* (Berlin, 1854), in *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit in deutscher Bearbeitung*, XXIII. Three French translations have been made. The edition of J. Gaudet, published in two volumes by the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1845) is based upon the edition of Pertz. In this work the "Notice critique sur Richer et sur son histoire," I, xvii-cxi, is more worth while than the translation which is occasionally faulty and too free. Ten years later the Académie de Reims published a French translation by A. M. Poinssignon, *Histoire de Richer en quatre livres* (Rheims, 1855), which contains a facsimile of Richer's ms. The best edition today is that by Robert Latouche—Richer, *Histoire de France (888-995)* (2 vols., Paris, 1930-37), in *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*—whose Latin text and translation are based upon the work of Waitz and profit from all the preceding. There is almost nothing written upon Richer in English except Professor A. C. Howland's translation of the passage from the *Historia* concerning Richer's trip to Chartres and his studies under Heribrand in Munro and Sellery, *Syllabus of Medieval History* (Philadelphia, 1919), pp. 73-75, and Loren C. MacKinney, "Tenth Century Medicine as Seen in the *Historia* of Richer of Rheims," Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine, *Bulletin*, II (1934), 347-75. An English translation of Richer is being prepared by the author of this article.

as well as one on division. When he wished to lead his students on from such studies to rhetoric, he put into practice his opinion that one cannot come by the art of oratory without a previous knowledge of the modes of diction which are learned from the poets. So he brought forward those poets which he wanted his pupils to know. Thus he both read and explained with them the poets Virgil, Statius and Terence, also the satirists Juvenal and Persius and Horace, as well as Lucian the historiographer. Once his pupils were familiar with these and acquainted with their style, he led them on to rhetoric.<sup>34</sup>

Richer omits telling the practical steps Gerbert took to inspire his pupils to apply the lessons learned from the classics, but continues with:

After they were instructed in this art, he brought up a sophist on whom they tried out their disputations, so that practiced in this art they might seem to argue artlessly, which he deemed the height of oratory.<sup>35</sup>

This is enough to show that Gerbert was a practical teacher, teaching neither logic nor rhetoric for their own sake but for the purpose of developing finished and accomplished orators. This is further borne out by a letter Gerbert wrote to Ebrard, abbot of Tours, in 984, in which he states one of the highest truths of teaching when he places oratory and scholarship subordinate to character and practical affairs.

I am not a man, such as Panetius, to separate the useful from the honorable, but constantly endeavor, as Cicero, always to join the one to the other. . . . Since philosophy does not separate the science of morals from the science of speaking, I have always considered as equal the study of the good life and the study of good speaking. To a man exempt from the cares of government the one suffices perfectly without the other. But, when one is as we are entangled in public affairs, both are necessary. For it is of the highest importance to be able to speak in a persuading manner and to restrain the violence of mis-led spirits by the sweetness of eloquence. It is for this purpose that I bend all my efforts to assemble a library. . . .<sup>36</sup>

In Gerbert's school rhetoric was thus a very practical study related most realistically to current affairs and efficient living, and not, as it later became in some medieval universities, largely an intellectual maneuver divorced both from practical life and productive philosophy.

It is easy to see that Gerbert loved Cicero. "Take as a companion on your journey," he advised his pupil Constantine, "the little works of Cicero, either the *De Republica* or the *In Verrem* or anything which the parent of Roman eloquence wrote for the defense of the many."<sup>37</sup> This sounds more like a Roman or a Renaissance man than it does like a churchman speaking in the heart of the Middle Ages, a Benedictine archbishop of Rheims, archbishop

<sup>34</sup> Richer, III, 46-47. Part of the second paragraph and the following one are translated in Henry O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, II, 289-90.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 48.

<sup>36</sup> *Ep.* 44.

<sup>37</sup> *Ep.* 86.



of Ravenna, and pope, who would be expected rather to urge his disciple to read Augustine or Gregory's *Dialogues* or at least one of the early Fathers. It seems even more out of part, however, for the tenth century Gerbert to avow, "Indeed, nothing in human affairs is more worthy of veneration than the wisdom of famous men which is contained in the multitudinous volumes of their books. Continue therefore as you have started, and quench your thirst in the waters of Cicero. . . ."<sup>38</sup> Gerbert here refers to the Greek and Latin classics, the former available to him only in translation. Indeed, whenever he requests a particular book from a friend, a confirmed custom with Gerbert, who was indefatigable in his zeal for a large library, the request is invariably for a secular one, and usually a classical one. Not once in his letters does he seem to be seeking religious literature. Perhaps he already had the church writings in his library and did not need to seek them afar. However, "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and we should add, "the pen writeth." Gerbert's letters constantly make allusions to classical writers and only infrequently to ecclesiastical ones or to the Bible.<sup>39</sup> This man, living in the "darkest" period of medieval history, is more in harmony with the Renaissance than with the medieval mind. Had he been pope five centuries later instead of during the year 1000, he would have suited the times more accurately, though he had perhaps cultivated too far "the art of holiness" to please the later era.

The extent to which his classical learning made him out of temper with his own times is revealed by the letter of the papal legate, in 995, already referred to. It was Gerbert's humanism and nonconformity to medieval patterns that gave rise after his death to the legends of his compact with the devil.

If Gerbert was practical in his teaching of the trivium, he is seen to have been even more so in the techniques he developed for teaching the subjects of the quadrivium. Richer continues the account of his education by writing:

So much for logic. In teaching mathematics it is not out of place to say he expended quantities of sweat. First he took up arithmetic, which is the first part of the science of mathematics. This he followed with music, of which the Gauls had long been ignorant, making it very popular. Arranging the various notes on the monocord, breaking up its consonants or symphonic unions into tones and half-tones, even into major thirds and quarter tones, accurately separating its sounds into tones, he restored a perfect knowledge of music.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Ep.* 167, written to Romulf, abbot of Sens.

<sup>39</sup> Gerbert imparted the classical spirit to his pupil, Richer, whose *Historia*, inspired by Gerbert and dedicated to him, is an imitation of classical historians, notably Sallust. "*Les historiens de la Grèce et de Rome furent évidemment les modèles que Richer se proposa d'imiter.*" J. Gaudet, *Richer, Histoire de son temps* (Paris, 1845), I, xciv.

<sup>40</sup> Richer, III, 49.



From mathematics, Gerbert led his students on into astronomy, where his genius for teaching expressed itself in several tangible ways. Gerbert becomes here one of the outstanding exponents of the teaching techniques described today as "visual aids." In the tenth century the teacher had to construct his own. Thus Gerbert's, which Richer describes, were all made by himself.

From the writings of Richer and Gerbert it is possible to piece together detailed instructions for making globes and spheres which Gerbert used in the classroom to teach astronomy. These instructions assume that the world is round, and rest upon a mass of scientific knowledge inherited from the Greeks. In spite of the fact that this knowledge was passed along from one medieval school to another, more than five hundred years after Gerbert's time Columbus sailed across what many people believed was a flat world. Richer writes:

It is not inexpedient to say, in order that the sagacity of this great man may be appreciated and so that the reader can understand more fully the efficiency of his method, what a quantity of sweat was also generated over the principles of astronomy. This poorly understood science, Gerbert explained by means of certain instruments. First, he demonstrated the form of the world by a plain wooden sphere [*mundi speram ex solido ac rotundo ligno argumentatus*], thus expressing a very big thing by a little model. Slanting this sphere by its two poles on the horizon, he showed the northern constellations toward the upper pole and the southern toward the lower pole. He kept this position straight by means of a circle which the Greeks call *horizon*, the Latins *limitans*, because it divides the stars which are visible from those which are not visible. On this horizon line, placed so as to demonstrate practically and plausibly [*utiliter ac probabiliter*, still the highest aim of "visual aids"] the rising and the setting of the stars, he traced natural outlines to give a greater appearance of reality to the constellations. During the night he studied the glowing stars, and proved that both at their rising and setting they moved in an oblique direction over the diverse regions of the world.<sup>41</sup>

Richer next describes the details of making various types of spheres, the way a student might who had often helped Gerbert in their construction.

As for the circles which are called parallels by the Greeks and equidistants by the Latins, which without doubt are theoretical, here is the clever way he illustrated them. He divided a sphere in half, letting a tube represent the diameter, the one end representing the north pole, the other the south pole. Then he divided the semicircle from one pole to the other into thirty parts. Six lines down from the pole he drew a heavy ring to represent the arctic polar circle. Five divisions below this he placed another line to represent the tropic of Cancer. Four parts lower he drew a line which set forth the rotundity of the equinoctial circle [the equator]. The remaining distance to the south pole is divided by the same dimensions. This instrument was so well contrived that when its diameter was pointed toward the pole and the semicircle revolved, it brought to light circles which were new to the eyes and securely fixed them deep in the memory.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 50.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 51.

It is interesting that Gerbert divided his sphere into 60 degrees rather than 360, which makes each of his lateral lines equal to six degrees of those employed for the same purpose today. This would place Gerbert's polar circle at 26 degrees, which is several degrees off from the actual  $23^{\circ} 28'$ . Gerbert's location of the tropics was nearly exact. His equator was exact.

It should be emphasized that in all Gerbert's many devices he is not the experimenter groping for new knowledge, like Roger Bacon or even Frederick II of the thirteenth century, but is solely the teacher making visual aids for his classroom pupils. The purpose of the devices is a practical one: to fix known facts upon the memory of students. Richer emphasizes this throughout his entire account of Gerbert, only mentioning his writings insofar as they bear upon his teaching.

Gerbert was not attempting to add to human knowledge in his scholarly writings. They were all textbooks, each having a specific purpose related to the curriculum of his school and demonstrating that teaching, not research, was Gerbert's prime scholarly interest. All five of his books<sup>43</sup> are lucid, well-organized, show the writer's wide acquaintance with previous research upon the subject, and appeal to the student point of view—criteria for good textbooks in any age. In his writings, in his mechanical devices, in his very nature, Gerbert is primarily the teacher.

Lot even concludes that Gerbert's sole reason for preserving those of his letters now extant was to make a textbook of letter writing for his pupils, especially for Otto III, and that Gerbert's desire to make the collection a stylebook determined his selection of letters.<sup>44</sup> Thus the Letters of Gerbert can be considered as his sixth textbook.

Richer continues with a description of a sphere which Gerbert constructed to make the planets more easily recognized.

He succeeded equally in showing the paths of the planets when they come near or withdraw from the earth. He fashioned first an armillary sphere. He joined the two circles called by the Greeks *coluri* and by the Latins *incidentes* because they fall upon each other, and at their extremities he placed the poles. He drew with great art and accuracy, across the *colures*, five other circles called parallels, which,

<sup>43</sup> *Libellus Rationali et Ratione uti; Regula de Abaco computi; Libellus de Numerorum Divisione; Liber Abaci; Geometria*—all are to be found in *Oeuvres*. The best edition of his mathematical works, however, is that of the Russian scholar who devoted his life to the study of Gerbert: Nic. Bubnov, *Gerberti Opera Mathematica* (Berlin, 1899).

<sup>44</sup> "Le but de Gerbert est avant tout pédagogique, il veut mettre un modèle de style épistolaire sous les yeux de son jeune disciple impérial." Lot, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, C. This was a subtle and effective way for Gerbert to get before the young emperor his correspondence with his father, Otto II, and members of the imperial family, where Gerbert appears in a faithful and even confidential role. Had Gerbert's motive been a historical instead of a pedagogical one he would have preserved all his letters instead of selecting from them, together with the letters he received. References appear constantly to a much more extensive correspondence than is preserved in the "stylebook."

from one pole to the other, divided the half of the sphere into thirty parts. He put six of these thirty parts of the half-sphere between the pole and the first circle; five between the first and the second; from the second to the third, four; from the third to the fourth, four again; five from the fourth to the fifth; and from the fifth to the pole, six. On these five circles he placed obliquely the circles which the Greeks call *loxos* or *zoe*, the Latins *obliquus* or *vitalis* (the zodiac) because it contained the figures of the animals ascribed to the planets. On the inside of this oblique circle he figured with an extraordinary art the orbits traversed by the planets, whose paths and heights he demonstrated perfectly to his pupils, as well as their respective distances.<sup>45</sup>

Richer concludes this paragraph with a tantalizing statement to one in search of medieval teaching methods when he writes: "It would take too long to tell here how he proceeded further; this would sidetrack us from our subject."

The construction of Gerbert's last and most ingenious sphere fortunately is described not only by the pupil Richer but also by Gerbert himself in a letter to a colleague, Constantine, abbot of Micy. The two descriptions supplement each other and clearly reveal Gerbert's most original and effective teaching device. It still remains, however, solely a teaching aid. Richer's description can be translated thus:

He made yet another sphere composed of circles, in the interior of which he placed no circles; but he fashioned above, upon iron and copper wires, the forms of the constellations. For an axis he used a tube through which one looked at the north pole, and when one looked at this pole the machine corresponded to the sky and all the stars corresponded to the marks of the sphere. This machine was so miraculous that even those who were ignorant of the science, if a single constellation were known to them on the sphere they could find the others themselves, and that without the aid of a teacher. This is how he produced knowledge in his pupils. So much for astronomy.<sup>46</sup>

It would be difficult to construct such a sphere from this brief and inadequate account given by Richer. More explicit is Gerbert's account, written to Constantine in response to a request for such information. It has the authoritative ring to it and throws light upon the above paragraph from Richer, though like all Gerbert's writings it is cryptic.

A sphere, my brother, concerning which you inquire for encircling the heavens and demonstrating the stars, is made round in all parts: then a line drawn around the middle is divided equally into sixty parts. Then where you have decided upon the beginning of the line, fix one foot of a compass. Place the other foot on the mark where six parts of the aforesaid line are enclosed, and when you have swung the compass around you include twelve parts. Without moving the first foot, the second foot is extended up to the mark on the first line where the eleventh part ends, and then it is drawn around so that twenty-two parts are encompassed. In

<sup>45</sup> Richer, III, 52.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 53.

like manner the foot is stretched forth to where fifteen parts of the aforesaid line are included, and by turning the compass, thirty parts are enclosed, and the middle of the sphere, having thirty parts, is cut off by the revolution of the compass.

Then moving the compass to the other half of the sphere, you should fix the first foot there, making sure that you station it exactly opposite [the first pole], and you will follow the above rules for measuring and encircling of these parts. Then the circles which you have drawn will be five in number, the middle one being divided equally into sixty parts.

Then take one of these hemispheres and hollow it out, and where you had fixed the other foot of your compass upon the aforesaid line bore a hole so that the circumference line runs through the middle of the hole. In the poles of the spheres, where you had placed the first foot of the compass, make a single hole, so that the middle of those holes sets bounds to the aforesaid hemisphere. Now there will be seven holes, in each of which you should put single tubes a half foot long; and the two extremities will be placed opposite each other so that both ways you will be able to see as through one tube. However, lest the tubes wobble, you can make an iron semicircle measured and perforated in the same way as the hemisphere, so that the upper ends of the tubes cohere; which differs in this way from organ pipes, that they are all equal in thickness, lest it diminish the brightness by which you contemplate through them the celestial bodies. The semicircle should be made fully two fingers wide, so that the whole hemisphere has thirty parts in length, keeping an equal proportion of the division through which the hole receives the tubes.

Then some night when our north pole is visible, take the hemisphere model out under the sky, so that through each tube, whose limits we have described, you can clearly distinguish and study the same north pole. If you are in doubt as to which star is the pole, fix a tube in such a position so that it does not move all night, and upon that star which you suspect to be the pole: now if it is the pole, you will be able to see it all night: if any other, its location will shortly afterwards not appear visible through the tube.

Accordingly, the hemisphere being stationed in the aforesaid manner so that it cannot be moved in any way, first you will be able to measure through the lower and upper tube the north pole, through the second the arctic circle, through the third the summer [Cancer], through the fourth the equator, through the fifth winter [Capricorn]. However, for the south pole, which is under the earth, no sky appears to be gazed at but only earth through any tubes.<sup>47</sup>

There is no telling how far or how widely these spheres emanating from Gerbert's genius were used in the schools of the tenth century. From the above letter from Gerbert we could infer that the abbot of Micy went ahead and made one; Fulbert carried on his master's methods at Chartres. An illuminating correspondence between Gerbert and his former pupil, Remi, monk of Trèves, leaves us in doubt whether the latter succeeded in securing a sphere, but it reveals further details concerning their construction, illustrates Gerbert's relationship to his former students, and incidentally shows a method which he commonly employed to augment his library.

<sup>47</sup> *Oeuvres*, pp. 479-80.

Remi, teaching at Trèves in 988, had the effrontery to ask Gerbert, not, like Constantine, for the instructions whereby he could make a sphere but for a completed sphere itself. Gerbert was apparently not interested in going into the business of supplying his former students with teaching aids, so he wrote the following "To Remi, monk of Trèves":

. . . we have not sent you a sphere, and just now we do not have any. It is not a work of small moment, especially when we are so very busy with public affairs. However, if you strongly desire to possess such an object, write out carefully the volume of the *Achilleis* of Statius, so that by your gift you may extort the sphere which you cannot have gratis because of the difficulty of making it.<sup>48</sup>

Four months later Remi had dutifully copied and sent the demanded "present" to Gerbert. Nearly every writer interested in Gerbert's scholarship mentions his receiving the *Achilleis* from Remi, but I have read none who carry the story out to its amusing conclusion. The *Achilleis* had never been finished by Statius but left in an incomplete state. Gerbert was not aware of this, and on receipt of his copy immediately suspected that poor Remi had grown tired of copying (he knew him as a student and probably remembered his term papers) and thus had deliberately fulfilled but half of the bargain.

Gerbert thereupon sat down and wrote Remi a scolding letter before he thought of verifying the *Achilleis*:

Your affection, dear brother, pushed forward the work of the *Achilleis*, which you truly well commenced but you stopped short when your transcript stopped short. Therefore we, not unmindful of your good work, have begun a sphere of very intricate execution which will be polished on a lathe and covered artistically with horsehide. If you are too impatient to wait until it is marked with more than a single color, you may look for it towards the end of March [Gerbert is writing in January]. But if you expect it to be marked clearly with a horizon and with the beauties of various colors, you will be horrified that I must work a whole year at it. Furthermore, concerning giving and receiving among our clients, the established rule is that he gets nothing who gives nothing.<sup>49</sup>

In this instance, however, Remi appears to be the one who got nothing even though he sent Gerbert a copy of all that ever existed of the *Achilleis*. For within a month after the above letter Gerbert's affairs took a sharp turn for the worse upon the death, on January 23, 989, of his patron, Archbishop Adalbero, the man who made possible the excellent episcopal school at Rheims. Gerbert was at once plunged into perilous political waters and for the time being such petty things as spheres, and even his teaching itself, were of lesser consideration. Remi appears to have written an answer to Gerbert's letter, containing another "request" for the sphere, and undoubtedly in self-defense

<sup>48</sup> Ep. 134.

<sup>49</sup> Ep. 148.

pointing out the truth regarding the *Achilleis* to Gerbert, the foremost book collector of his day, who would be expected to know as much about books and their contents as any scholar in Europe. It was ill timed. Gerbert was in no mood for jesting or even for scholarship, when he wrote to Remi in February of 989 his last letter concerning the sphere. He wrote:

. . . in this universal confusion when duties to mortals pale into nothing, with what demands, with what petitions you incautiously pester me! In such a state of affairs, with the see vacant, must I be driven back to the fables of philosophers, for the time being not pertinent? I speak not of myself, whom a thousand deaths menace, or that father Adalbero had designated me as his successor, with the approval of all the clergy and many of the knights; and that I am credited as the author of everything that goes wrong. Should the friends who shared with me the intimacy of my blessed father Adalbero, who work and suffer with me, should they be abandoned for the sake of a piece of rounded wood? Patiently endure, therefore, the delays which necessity imposes; wait for better times when studies long since dead in me can be revived.<sup>50</sup>

Gerbert cut Remi off rather sharply, considering that he had done all Gerbert required in order to receive the sphere. The fact that we never hear another word concerning Remi's sphere furnishes at least one exception to William of Malmesbury's extravagant summary of Gerbert: "He left nothing unexecuted which he had once conceived."<sup>51</sup>

Gerbert is credited with having revived the use of the abacus. His motive, again, was to have a practical teaching device. As Richer explained:

In geometry he expended no less labor in his teaching. As a beginning he had a shieldmaker construct an abacus, or a table for measuring. Its length was divided into twenty-seven parts, on which he arranged nine signs expressing all the numbers. He made 1000 characters of horn, which, placed in the twenty-seven compartments of the abacus, gave the multiplication or the division of each number, dividing and multiplying their infinite numbers with such quickness that, as for their multiplication, one could get the answer quicker than he could express it in words. Those who wish to understand fully this method should read the book which he wrote to the *scholasticus* Constantine where one will find this subject fully treated.<sup>52</sup>

In writing to Bernard, a monk of Aurillac, in 986, Gerbert defines his teaching aim as that "of offering from time to time to the best scholars the sweet fruits of liberal studies," and describes another of his visual aids. This one is for the better teaching of rhetoric. The letter continues:

It is for them that last autumn I drew up a diagram of rhetoric on twenty-six leaves of parchment sewed together, and forming in all two columns side by side each of thirteen leaves. It is without doubt a device admirably adapted for the ignorant and useful to the studious scholars in order to help them understand the subtle and obscure rules of rhetoric and to fix these in their memory.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Ep.* 152.

<sup>51</sup> William of Malmesbury, p. 176.

<sup>52</sup> Richer, III, 54.

<sup>53</sup> *Ep.* 92.



Gerbert's diagram of rhetoric has not come to light in modern times, though it would be a most interesting teaching device along with his globes and the abacus. Richer does not mention the diagram, which indicates that in his narration of Gerbert's teaching he is selective.

Richer also makes no allusion to Gerbert's academic interest in medicine, although Richer himself was a student of medicine and must have studied the subject under Gerbert prior to his journey in 991 to Chartres in order to complete his medical education under Heribrand. Gerbert assembled a good medical library and willingly lent books from it to his friends, as his letters show. His interest in medicine was entirely a scholarly one. In a letter (*Ep.* 151) to his friend Adalbero, bishop of Verdun, who had requested medical advice, Gerbert replied, "You should not wish me to treat with authority what belongs to the practice of physicians, for while I have enthusiastically pursued a knowledge of their science I have always shunned its practice."

Richer also omits to mention that Gerbert constructed at Rheims a hydraulic organ with brass pipes and a mechanical clock. No doubt he employed both of these to teach something to his students.

Gerbert, however, possessed infinitely more than merely clever and practical paraphernalia for classroom instruction. In Gerbert's school everything was subordinated to the spiritual energy of a great teacher, so that he won from Richer a verdict upon his teaching that should satisfy the most ambitious instructor. "*Fervebat studiis*," pronounced Richer, "*numerusque discipulorum in dies accrescebat*."<sup>54</sup> Cause and effect.

To discuss Gerbert's pupils in detail would exceed the scope of this article and form an independent study in itself. It can be stated here, however, that he influenced some of the most important minds of his era, and through them, incidentally, affected ages to come.

Gerbert's teaching influenced the political and religious course of his times because he had as pupils Robert, the son and successor of Hugh Capet, "of exquisite talents,"<sup>55</sup> and Froment, who became Robert's chancellor and bishop of Paris. He also molded the character and ambitions of the emperor Otto III and was teacher to Heribert, Otto's chancellor in both Germany and Italy, and Adalbald, secretary to Otto III's successor, the emperor Henry II. At least thirteen of Gerbert's pupils became bishops or archbishops, and five or six more abbots of principal monasteries. All of these important posts were

<sup>54</sup> Richer, III, 55.

<sup>55</sup> William of Malmesbury, p. 175. "His [Robert's] mother sent him to the school of Rheims, and confided him to master Gerbert to be taught by him and instructed in the liberal arts in a manner in every way pleasing, by his virtues, to God. This was done. This same Gerbert, because of his merit which shone over the whole world . . ." The monk Helgaudus, *Vie du Roi Robert*, in M. Guizot, *Collection des memoires relative à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1824), VI, 366.



west of the Rhine, mostly in northern France. The bishops carried with them a zeal for learning that expressed itself in rejuvenated cathedral and monastic schools. Schools at Utrecht, Cambrai (where three of Gerbert's students in succession were bishops), Longres, Sens, Cologne, as well as those at Chartres, Laon, Auxerre, and Rouen, became centers for the new learning.

The enlightened zeal of Gerbert in the cause of studies effected a real revival of intellectual activity. What had been done under Charlemagne in the promotion of liberal arts by . . . Alcuin, and what Saint Bruno had effected in the same direction under Otto the Great for the Germans, was accomplished for the newly rising kingdom of France by Gerbert. . . . And it must be confessed that he was superior to either of these great and good men . . . the range of subjects with which he dealt was much more liberal and comprehensive, and the influence of his work was perhaps deeper than either Alcuin or Bruno. . . . Gerbert may be described as the father of the schoolmen. . . .<sup>56</sup>

The quality of Gerbert's teaching is seen in the fact that many of his pupils devoted the rest of their lives to his humanistic ideal: an enthusiastic pursuit of the liberal arts and an effectual application of the liberal arts to secular affairs. Richer was not satisfied to stop with his "formal education," but tells us that he "studied all the rest of his life."<sup>57</sup> Another pupil, Richard, became famous for his mastery of Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac, most unusual in tenth century Christendom, and in practical affairs became abbot of Saint Vanne near Verdun.<sup>58</sup> Adalbero of Laon was not only noted as one of the most learned men of the first quarter of the eleventh century but, profiting from Gerbert's lessons in oratory, came to personify his master's teaching of eloquence. Eloquence coupled with sound learning advanced the pupil as it had the master, and Adalbero became bishop of Laon. Gerard, a relative of Gerbert's patron and a student at the cathedral school also later distinguished himself as an orator. Bernelius wrote a treatise on the abacus that surpassed that of his master.<sup>59</sup> Herbert, originally a Jew, a co-disciple of Fulbert under Gerbert, became through his learning and piety the abbot of the monastery of Lagny.<sup>60</sup>

Gerbert's best known pupil, as far as scholarship is concerned, was of course Fulbert, first *scholasticus* in the cathedral school at Chartres, and then bishop.<sup>61</sup> Fulbert is remembered today as one of the intellectual antecedents of the University of Paris and as such is the important link between Gerbert and

<sup>56</sup> Horace K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes* (14 vols., London, 1902-28), V, 24.

<sup>57</sup> Richer, IV, 50.

<sup>58</sup> Léon Maitre, *Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1866), p. 99.

<sup>59</sup> Mann, V, 26.

<sup>60</sup> A. Olleris, *Vie de Gerbert, premier pape français . . .* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1867), p. 54.

<sup>61</sup> An interesting article on Fulbert is by Loren C. MacKinney, "Bishop Fulbert: Teacher, Administrator, Humanist," *Isis*, XIV (Bruges, 1930), 285-300.

Abelard. Fulbert's school at Chartres carried on Gerbert's work and methods,<sup>62</sup> and a catalogue of the tenth century books in its library lists every one of the textbooks used by Gerbert as cited by Richer. Three of Gerbert's own books were there, namely, *De Abaco*, *De Ratione uti et rationabili*, and *De constructione sphaerae*.<sup>63</sup> From Fulbert's school went forth scholars like Lambert, who carried the lamp to Paris; Adelmann, who made famous the school of Liège; and the illustrious Berenger, scholastic of the cathedral school at Tours, famous for the conviction that dialectic was the instrument for discovering truth and for his controversy with Pope Gregory VII.

Another of Gerbert's pupils, Jean, became a brilliant *scholasticus* at Auxerre and, like Adalbero at Laon and Fulbert at Chartres, was raised from the school to become bishop. Both Fulbert and Jean sweetened learning with piety. Humility was the outstanding virtue of both scholars, and Jean of Auxerre passed whole nights on his knees in prayer.<sup>64</sup> Gerbert's blend of religious reform and classical learning was therefore exemplified as well by his greatest pupils.

In one sense Gerbert was also a direct ancestor of the papal and church reform movements of the eleventh century. His dominant influence upon the young emperor Otto III is well established. Equally significant were Gerbert's two pupils, Heribert and Adelbald, whose strategic posts in the imperial service helped them further Gerbert's educational ideas and reform principles. Heribert was raised to the archbishopric of Cologne the year Gerbert was elevated to the papacy. In Cologne, from 999 to 1021, he furthered Gerbert's reform principles. Adelbald was a sound scholar, a first-rate mathematician.<sup>65</sup> Insofar as these two men, close to the emperor, influenced Henry II in his bent along the same lines, Gerbert is behind the imperial reform policies in Italy and Germany. Thus Gerbert becomes an important figure in the Lotharingian reform movement which so basically influenced Henry II. It has earlier been pointed out in this paper that Gerbert was a principal link between the Cluniac reform movement of his homeland in southern France and the Lotharingian movement in the Rhineland.

The two reforming movements converge in a very real way at Rome in the eleventh century under Pope Gregory VII. Gerbert's influence upon Hildebrand cannot now be clearly traced, for the early years of Hildebrand are obscure.<sup>66</sup> However, several facts stand out concerning his education. The

<sup>62</sup> See Jules A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge* (Chartres, 1899).

<sup>63</sup> Maitre, pp. 289-97.

<sup>64</sup> Honoré Jean Pierre Fisquet, *La France Pontificale: Metropole de Sens et Auxerre* (Paris, 1868), p. 275.

<sup>65</sup> Péchenard, p. 76.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Oestreich, "Gregory VII," *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

two teachers who influenced him most were a certain Laurence, later archbishop of Amalfi, who was evidently an old man while Hildebrand was a student at the monastery of Santa Maria on the Aventine over which Laurence presided; and John Gratien, who became Pope Gregory VI in 1046. All contemporary accounts agree that these men were renowned scholars and one contemporary, Cardinal Benno, declares these mentors of Hildebrand both to have been pupils of Gerbert.<sup>67</sup> Though the date of Gratien's birth is unknown,<sup>68</sup> both he and Laurence were of an age to support this statement of Benno. Moreover, when Gregory VI went into exile in 1046, taking his young secretary with him, he chose the city of Cologne as his residence. Hildebrand's year in Cologne is usually regarded as of fundamental importance in the development of his reform ideas. Significantly enough, he left Cologne in 1047 for his first visit to the monastery of Cluny. These few facts suggest Gerbert's part in the inspiration of Gregory VII and indicate the route by which the so-called Cluniac influence first reached its future papal champion.

Gerbert was a humanist centuries before the Renaissance and inspired more than a few of his pupils with his spirit. His devotion to his books, to his school, and to his students, his rare ability to make learning attractive to others, and his success in making the liberal arts effective aids to practical life establish Gerbert as one of the great teachers of all time.

<sup>67</sup> See Reginald L. Poole, "Benedict IX and Gregory VI," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, VIII (1917-18), 223-24.

<sup>68</sup> Horace K. Mann, "Gregory VI," *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The Four Lords and the Partition Treaty

CHESTER KIRBY\*

SECRET treaties rarely remain secret very long and revelations of their existence have more than once caused political storms. The partition treaties of 1698 and 1699, the story of which is well known today, occasioned just such a disturbance, four leading statesmen being impeached for their connection with the negotiations. As the accusations never came to the test of real trial, the Whig view that the impeachments were nothing but the product of party rancor has had an easy acceptance. Evidence has now come to light which makes it possible to examine the facts as they were known at that time.

It is not necessary to rehearse here the familiar story of the two partition treaties and their failure to prevent the War of the Spanish Succession.<sup>1</sup> As the war approached, the Tories found themselves in the ascendancy in the House of Commons. In reaction from the previous war they forced the king to make drastic cuts in the army and drove the chief Whigs from office. The bitterness of party animosity was extreme. It was therefore inevitable that the parliament which came together on February 6, 1701, should turn to the mystery of the secret treaties. That some kind of partition had been agreed upon was common gossip, though the details had not transpired. In any case, as Whig ministers must have been prominently concerned in such an agreement, it was possible that political capital might be made out of the affair.

At the same time, apart from politics, there was reason for objecting to the treaties. England was still tired from the previous war, and, in fact, the partition treaties had been negotiated in hopes of preventing another. But after Louis XIV violated his agreement and accepted Spain's offer of a throne for his grandson, enforcement of the partition policy could mean only war and was certain to appear to the appeasement party wicked in the extreme. There was a further consideration of a constitutional nature. Parliament had of course not been consulted in the negotiations, nor, as soon appeared, even the

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<sup>1</sup> For general accounts of the negotiations and the surrounding circumstances see: Macaulay, *History of England*; Onno Klopp, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*; Leopold von Ranke, *Englische Geschichte*; and Sirtema de Grovestins, *Guillaume III et Louis XIV, histoire des luttes et rivalités politiques entre les puissances maritimes et la France dans la dernière moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (nouvelle éd., Paris, 1868; title of first edition [Paris, 1854] begins with the word *Histoire*).

Privy Council, at least not in any formal sense. The treaties therefore raised the long contested issue of control over foreign policy.

As soon as Parliament met (February 17, 1700/01), the House of Commons secured the publication of the two treaties. The ensuing debates, which centered at first only in the treaty of 1699, led to the impeachment of William Bentinck, earl of Portland, who had taken the leading part in the negotiations. That was on April 1, 1701. In consequence of a confused remark by Portland in the House of Lords, attention now turned to the origins of the first treaty. Evidence appeared which pointed directly to highly irregular proceedings on the part of the chief Whig leaders. Lord Somers, the earl of Orford, and Lord Halifax were accordingly impeached on April 14.<sup>2</sup>

Before the impeached lords could be tried, complications arose which greatly prejudiced the case of the accusers. The increasing gravity of the international situation aroused a highly vocal public demand that the charges be dropped in order that a united front might be presented to foreign dangers. The sense of frustration felt by the majority in the Commons and their annoyance at being forced by considerations of political expediency to support measures leading to another war brought on an unedifying quarrel between the two houses of Parliament. These circumstances caused considerable delay in drawing up articles of impeachment against the four lords. The detailed charges against Orford were adopted in the Commons on May 8, over three weeks after he was impeached, those against Somers on May 16, those against Halifax on June 9, and no articles at all were ever submitted against Portland.<sup>3</sup>

Before we lightly attribute the whole of this violent political storm merely to the wicked hatred of Tories for Whigs, it is worth while to consider the particular charges and the evidence on which they were based. After all, even the Tories would not have ventured to embark upon impeachments without some *prima facie* reasonable grounds. Although the articles of accusation as drawn up contained a number of miscellaneous charges of malfeasance and corruption (including even an attempt to involve Somers and Orford in Captain Kidd's piracies), it is clear that the only serious part of the case, if there was any, was seen in the events connected with the first partition treaty.

All the real evidence was contained in a series of letters submitted to the

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, XIII, 419, 434, 450, 489-90; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs . . .* (Oxford, 1857), V, 33; William Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, V, cols. 1245-48; Klopp, IX, 216. It is worth noting at this point that Klopp's account makes the debate turn solely upon the terms of the treaties rather than upon the way they were negotiated. He draws his account largely from the correspondence of Hoffman, the imperial minister, who was, of course, interested especially in the inconsistency of the partition policy with the promise in the Grand Alliance of 1689 to support the Habsburg claims to the Spanish dominions.

<sup>3</sup> *Commons Journals*, XIII, 520, 546-50, 603.

Commons by Secretary of State James Vernon and two letters which passed between the king and Lord Somers. The Commons' translations from the original French of the king's letter to Somers and his reply were published in the *Journals of the House of Commons*.<sup>4</sup> The letters produced by Vernon consisted of ten from Portland to Vernon, a joint letter to Vernon from Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson, the English plenipotentiaries, eleven letters from Vernon to Portland, two to Sir Joseph, and a letter to Stanhope and Methuen, the English envoys in Spain and Portugal, together with instructions on the procedure to be followed in case of the Spanish king's death. Altogether the documents covered the period from August 14/24 to November 4/14, 1698.<sup>5</sup> Some of them, mixed with other material, have appeared in the correspondence edited by Grimblot and Japikse.<sup>6</sup> But although the *Commons Journals* contain the list of the letters in the Vernon correspondence it has never been made quite clear just what these letters contained as a separate body of evidence and what there was about their contents which raised such a tumult.

In the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University there is a manuscript copy of the whole correspondence, excepting the instructions to Stanhope and Methuen but including the king's letter and Somers' reply to it. These twenty-seven letters are bound into one of the volumes of an unique set of the *Votes of the House of Commons*, which covers the years 1689-1758 and which contains voluminous manuscript notes such as make it in some respects more complete than the printed *Journals*.<sup>7</sup> The letters are written in

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 491-92.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 487, 489; Luttrell, V, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Grimblot, *Letters of William III and Louis XIV and of Their Ministers . . . 1697-1700* (2 vols., London, 1848); N[icolaas] Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, eersten Graaf van Portland* (2 vols., 'S-Gravenhage, 1927).

<sup>7</sup> As scholars do not often meet with the *Votes of the House of Commons*, a word about them may not be amiss. In 1680 the House began to print a daily record of its proceedings under this title. It consisted of a bare outline of what was done, printed ordinarily on a single sheet of paper. It is known that these printed *Votes* later served, at least sometimes, as the basis for the preparation of a draft journal from which the printed *Journals of the House of Commons* were produced. (See H. Hale Bellot, "Parliamentary Printing, 1660-1857," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XI [1933-34], 88.) Ordinarily, therefore, although the printed journals contain much that was not in the *Votes*, one would not expect anything in the *Votes* that is not in the *Journals*. Concerning the set of *Votes* in the John Carter Brown Library (hereafter cited as *Votes*, J.C.B.) this inference does not hold. The extensive contemporary manuscript annotations correspond in the main with the additions later made when the journals were printed but there is other material bound into the volumes. Among this material are the letters here referred to. The thirty-four volumes of the John Carter Brown Library's set of *Votes* bear the bookplates of the earls of Marchmont. Patrick Hume, Lord Polwarth of Polwarth, first earl of Marchmont, whose bookplates are to be found in the early volumes compiled during his lifetime (he died in 1724), was lord chancellor of Scotland from 1696 to 1702, and apparently at that time laid the foundation of the Marchmont collection of books and manuscripts. At the time of the third (and last) earl of Marchmont (died 1794), who was also an active collector, the library appears to have had considerable size and importance. Subsequently three volumes of *Marchmont Papers* were edited by Sir George Henry Rose (1831) and the Historical Manuscripts Commission ulti-

two handwritings, and in some cases bear numbers and notes on the reverse indicative of their contents. The dates correspond exactly with the list given in the *Commons Journals* except that the instructions (but not the letter) to Methuen and Stanhope are missing. In short, it is clear that these documents are either the very copies and translations of the letters submitted by Vernon and Somers or, more likely, copies of them. Here, then, is the actual evidence, which was sufficient to bring about the impeachments of Somers, Orford, and Halifax—and these in spite of the increasingly threatening posture of foreign affairs, which would have suggested a more moderate policy. Let us examine the evidence.

For this purpose it is necessary to carry our attention back to the situation in 1698. In August of that year Portland and the king were at Loo in the Netherlands when the long-secret negotiations were finally brought to the

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mately published two sets of manuscripts under the descriptions of *Polwarth Papers* and *Marchmont Papers*. (Hist. MSS. Commission Reports, *Marchmont Papers*, introduction, p. 56.) The *Votes* (J.C.B.) were secured in 1916 from the firm of Francis Edwards of London, whose catalogue contained an extensive description. The order of the papers as found does not correspond either to their chronological order, which is confused by the fact that the letters from England are dated in Old Style and those from Portland in New Style, nor to the order of the list given in the printed *Journals*. Following the consecutive numbering of the copies in the John Carter Brown Library, I give the correct chronological order below. (Corresponding dates, where not given in the original, are set in square brackets. Starred items are unpublished.)

Number	Old Style date	New Style date
1	Aug. 14, 1698	Aug. 24
2	Aug. 15	Aug. 25
3	Aug. 19	[Aug. 29]
4	Aug. 21	[Aug. 31]
8	[Aug. 26]	Sept. 5
5	Aug. 28	[Sept. 7]
9	[Aug. 30]	Sept. 9
6	Aug. 30	[Sept. 9]
7	Sept. 2	[Sept. 12]
11	[Sept. 6]	Sept. 16
10	Sept. 13	[Sept. 23]
13	[Sept. 17]	Sept. 27
15	Sept. 18	Sept. 28
*12	Sept. 27	[Oct. 7]
14	Sept. 27	[Oct. 7]
18	[Sept. 27]	Oct. 7
*24	[Sept. 28]	Oct. 8
*16	Sept. 30	[Oct. 10]
*17	Sept. 30	[Oct. 10]
19	[Oct. 5]	Oct. 15
*20	Oct. 7	[Oct. 17]
*23	Oct. 18	[Oct. 28]
22	[Oct. 25]	Nov. 4
*21	Oct. 28	[Nov. 7]
26	[Oct. 28]	Nov. 7
*27	Nov. 1	[Nov. 11]
25	Nov. 4	Nov. 14

No. 22 is erroneously dated Nov. 4/14; the correct date is given in Japikse.



point where Count Tallard and William III suddenly reached agreement on terms. Charles II of Spain seemed (not for the first time) very near death, and the probability that Europe would be plunged into war if his death should occur before arrangements had been made for the contingency undoubtedly hastened the decision. Therefore on August 24 Portland wrote to Secretary of State Vernon giving him a summary of the terms contemplated and asking for his opinions and those of Somers and whomever Somers, who was lord chancellor and keeper of the great seal, thought best to consult.<sup>8</sup> The next day the king wrote in the same sense to Somers, stressing the need for "the greatest secrecy" but also urging that "if it be fit this negotiation should be carried on there's no time to be lost. . . ." He instructed Somers to send "the full power under the great seal with the names in blank."<sup>9</sup>

Vernon's response to Portland on August 19/29 said that Portland's letter had been sent on to Somers, who had gone to Tunbridge Wells, and spoke with distinct approval of the projected treaty in these words:

I hope it will bee very acceptable that there is a prospect of avoiding a warr, when wee are in so ill a condition at present for entring into it again; I think it is pretty plaine that a Parliament would look upon their concerns as satisfied, if a way were found to keep Spaine and the Indies from falling under France. . . .<sup>10</sup>

Two days later (August 21/31) Vernon wrote to Portland with the information that the secret had been communicated to Orford and Montague (the later Lord Halifax) and that no other person would be let into it except the duke of Shrewsbury. Their first reaction, as expressed by Vernon, was

that they do not think wee are in a condition at present for a new warr, or that wee are able to carry it on, as the last was; they see what the french aims are of extending themselves everywhere upon the coast and encreasing their power at sea and to become masters of the Mediterranean and Levant Trade, but upon the whole they beleieve the advantage of England will rather ly on the side of making a good end by composition, if it can bee effected.<sup>11</sup>

On the subject of the "full powers" Vernon had something very significant to say. In the same letter he urged the need for the king to sign them but in

<sup>8</sup> Portland to Somers, Aug. 14/24, 1698, letter no. 1 in *Votes* (J.C.B.); also published in Japikse, II, 88, and (for the most part) in Grimblot, II, 119–20.

<sup>9</sup> William III to Somers, Aug. 15/25, 1698, no. 2 in *Votes* (J.C.B.); also in Grimblot, II, 121–22, and *Commons Journals*, XIII, 492.

<sup>10</sup> Vernon to Portland, Aug. 19 (O.S.), 1698, no. 3 in *Votes* (J.C.B.); also in Japikse, II, 89, and Grimblot, II, 129.

<sup>11</sup> Vernon to Portland, Aug. 21 (O.S.), 1698, no. 4 in *Votes* (J.C.B.) (see also no. 6); the version in Japikse (II, 89–90) is followed here in detail. The copy in *Votes* (J.C.B.) reads "a good [blank] & by composicon," which is a clear indication that it was read to the copyist, presumably when transcribed in the House of Commons. Also in Grimblot, II, 133–34. Somers' first reaction, indicated by his letter which Vernon enclosed to Portland (but which was not in the hands of the House of Commons in 1701), was characterized by a good deal of caution, a sense of the importance of absolute secrecy, and a fear lest France should be trying a stratagem which could later be used to Holland's disadvantage (see Japikse, II, 89–90).

any case a warrant signed by the king was necessary for affixing the seal to them "or otherwise Mylord Chancellor will not think himself authorized to do it, and this cannot be supplied by the Lords Justices [who were serving as a board of regency]. . . ." In as strong language as he dared, he hinted also that the commissioners' names ought to be inserted in the full powers: "Your Lordship will please to know of His Maj<sup>ty</sup> whether hee would have the commissioners names now inserted, which perhaps may bee necessary when the commission is to pass the seale, and if it bee so ordered, they will not be known but to Mylord Chancellor and myself."

Somers, having consulted those of his colleagues who were let into the secret and discussed the matter personally with Montague and Vernon, who came to Tunbridge Wells for the purpose, reported the results of the deliberations to the king in his letter of August 28 (September 7, N.S.). In substance he brought forward various objections and expressed some misgivings but declared confidence in the good judgment of the king and agreed that on the whole perhaps the affair had better be carried through. On the one hand there was the fear of the "very many ill consequences if the French did not act a sincere part" but on the other hand was "the very ill prospect of w[ha]t was like to happen upon the death of the King of Spain in case nothing was done previously towards the providing against that accident, w[hi]ch seemed probably to be very near." And furthermore,

so farr as relates to England it would be want of duty not to give y[ou]r Ma[jes]ty this clear account that there is a deadness and want of spirit in the Nation universally, so as not at all to be disposed to the thoughts of entring into a new War, and that they seem to be tired out with taxes to a degree beyond w[ha]t was discerned til it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections.

As to details, the terms proposed seemed to grant much to France, but, then, she probably would not accept less. The question of the enforcement of the treaty also caused a little uneasiness. "It does not appear," wrote Somers,

in case this Negotiation should proceed w[ha]t is to be done on y[ou]r part, in order to make it take place, whether any more be required, then that the English and Dutch should sit stil and France itself is to see it executed, and if so, w[ha]t security ought to be expected, that, if by your being Neuters, the French be successfull, they wil confine themselves to the terms of the Treaty, and not attempt to make farther advantages of their success.

Despite these uncertainties, Somers hoped that his absence from London had not delayed the sending of the commission.

\*I have put the seal to it without expecting the return of the Warrant w[hi]ch Mr Secretary [Vernon] sent, begging of y[ou]r Ma[jes]ty that it may bee soon transmitted to myself or to Mr Secretary so as it may not be known but that I had

it in time\*; you will be pleased to observe that two persons (as the commission is drawn) must be named in it but the powers may be executed by either of them; I suppose y[ou]r Ma[jes]ty will not thinke it proper to name Commissioners who are not English or naturalized in an affair of this nature.

A postscript indicates that Vernon had personally written out the commission and Somers had had it sealed in absolute secrecy.<sup>12</sup>

It is clear from these passages that Vernon and Somers, though appreciating the need for haste, were decidedly uncomfortable at the irregularities. A commission authorizing unspecified persons to sign a treaty involving the security of the country would look bizarre in any government and was certainly contrary to well-established practice. Likewise the fixing of the great seal of England to any document—and surely none could be more important than a commission designating plenipotentiaries—required a formal warrant, for which a mere letter of instructions from the king could be no adequate substitute. Nor is it altogether clear why such a warrant could not have been sent along with the king's letter.

Another point to be noticed is the request by Somers that the regular warrant be sent even though the action which it would authorize had already been carried out—"so as it may not be known but that I had it in time." This argues a troubled conscience and an attempt to tamper with the records. To a prejudiced audience such as that of 1701 it is easy to see what such machinations would mean.

Portland, also, who had earlier been criticized for his part in the Treaty of Ryswick, had his uncertainties. In his letter of September 5 (N.S.), while lamenting to Vernon the delay caused by Somers' absence from town, he asked Vernon's personal advice on his acting as a plenipotentiary.<sup>13</sup> The secretary replied a week later in a very encouraging fashion, saying that "as a good accommodation was preferable to a warr, so whoever should be instrumental in it, would bee thought to render the nation an acceptable service, as having drawn us out of a plunge that wee should not well know how to turne ourselves in." In fact it was because (in the conference at Tunbridge Wells) it was thought Portland would be perhaps the only signer of the treaty, that provision was made in the commission for either plenipotentiary to act independently. As Vernon saw it, if the French were sincere, no one, and especially not the Tories, could object to the treaty.

Those who would have come into a warr unwillingly and at best but awkwardly,

<sup>12</sup> No. 5 in *Votes* (J.C.B.); also in *Commons Journals*, XIII, 491-92; and Grimblot, II, 143. Grimblot, however, omits the passage (surely a crucial one) marked by asterisks. Also Grimblot transcribes the word "Neuters" as "Masters," destroying the sense, and gives the new style date erroneously as September 8.

<sup>13</sup> Portland to Vernon, Sept. 5 (N.S.), 1698, no. 8 in *Votes* (J.C.B.).

cannot but bee well pleased to see the occasion for it removed. I think the time is past and will not come again very soone that the Parliament shall find fault with the Government for not entring into a warr with France, and if His Ma[jes]ty can satisfy him self to let it alone, everybody else will acquiesce in it, and think wee have a deliverance beyond our expectation. . . .

Your Lordship therefore sees there was no delay used here in dispatching the commission, which is an argument how readely all concurred in it, and I beleeve they would rather see it executed by you than any other, as hoping it would prosper best under your management.<sup>14</sup>

Under these circumstances, then, the treaty was signed by Comte Tallard for France and Portland on September 24.<sup>15</sup> There were still the ratifications, which involved more (though not so serious) blanks, as the Dutch commissioners were to sign next month and their names had had to be omitted from the treaty. What was happening is indicated by Vernon's hitherto unpublished letter to Williamson on September 27 (O.S.):

MY LORD

Collings the messenger brought hither on Saturday last the dispatches sent by my L[or]d Portland and y[ou]r Excellency, w[hi]ch I communicated next morning to my L[or]d Chancellor who comprehends the importance of the secret and we shal both observe it. I have likewise the honour of y[ou]r Excellencys letter of the 29 to acknowledge as also another of the 4 of Oct. w[hi]ch arrived this day. I shal give all the dispatch I am able to the Instrument of Ratification but it is a pretty tedious work for an ill slow writer, especially since you think it necessary that [in] the powers incerted I shal leave sufficient blanks in the places where it is directed and must likewise leave a large blank for the powers given to the Dutch comm[ission]ers since I suppose none must be omitted. I wish I may be able to get all ready to be sent by next post. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Whatever irregularities might have occurred, Portland reflected with satisfaction on what had been done. Count Auersperg, then the imperial ambassador, had already begun to get wind of something even before the signing of the treaty and about this time complained to Vernon of what he

<sup>14</sup> Vernon to Portland, Sept. 2/12, 1698, no. 7 in *Votes* (J.C.B.). Endorsed on the back (evidently at the time of the impeachment): "how readily all concurr." Also in Japikse, II, 97. As to the advisability of making a treaty and the arrangement for giving power to one commissioner to act alone, this letter is much the same as that already written to Portland by Vernon three days earlier (Portland to Vernon, Aug. 30 [O.S.], 1698, no. 6 in *Votes* [J.C.B.]); Japikse, II, 96-97, has an additional postscript, of minor importance, not to be found in the copy in *Votes* (J.C.B.).

<sup>15</sup> It was made definitive on October 13 when the Dutch plenipotentiaries added their signatures. Williamson's signature does not appear on the treaty. The secret articles were signed only by Tallard, Portland, and Williamson. Grimblot, II, 167; Sirtema de Grovestins, VII, 182-83.

<sup>16</sup> Vernon to Williamson, Sept. 27 (O.S.), 1698, no. 12 in *Votes* (J.C.B.). The last paragraph of the letter relates to proposals brought from Morocco by an English slave concerning redemption of captives. A letter (no. 14 in *Votes* [J.C.B.]) of Vernon's to Portland the same day discussed the merits of what had been done and the prospects for the future. The copy printed in Japikse (II, 104) has several variations, though none of consequence.

had heard,<sup>17</sup> but Portland's reaction, when informed of this complaint, was rather a feeling that a great danger had been averted. He expected the emperor, who was being left in the dark as much as possible, to protest, "but I hope and believe he will be the only one will do so. I confesse to you," he continued to Vernon,

one cannot see the condition, in which Spaine is now in [*sic*], without trembling at the remembrance of the dangers we have run, and which perhaps we are still in, if France should find any room to make use of its advantages safely. You may see, that we are aware, the Spaniards might invite him by these words that are incerted, viz.—that he shall not take possession of the Kingdom by the means of rebellion, invitation, or cession or other means—'t is true, words in writing alone won't be a sufficient security to us, but these words at least will obviate all excuses if the case should happen. . . .<sup>18</sup>

In such an eventuality it was important for England to have a force ready to back up the partition agreed upon.

Instructions were sent to Methuen and Stanhope covering the action they were to take when the Spanish king should die. The letter which accompanied these instructions shows how secrecy was to be maintained up to the critical moment:

His Ma[jes]ty comands me to send you the inclosed Instructions sealed with his Ma[jes]tys Seale which you are to keep carefully by you in the same condicion till you heare of the King of Spains death & in that case you are to open them and to persue the directions therein contained. But if the King of Spain recover this paper will be required of you againe and you are not to faile to returne it when sent for in the same manner that you rec[eiv]ed it.

PORTLAND.<sup>19</sup>

All this secrecy illustrates well the intrigue and uncertainties of seventeenth century diplomacy, but it was in more than one way necessary in a case like this. To begin with, Spain would not relish a program of partition even for so laudable a purpose as maintaining the peace of Europe. It was all very well from William's point of view to preserve the security of the Dutch and to protect the balance of power, but it was being done at Spain's expense. Then, too,

<sup>17</sup> Klopp, VIII, 232. On October 11/21, 1698, less than a month after the official signing of the treaty (Sept. 24), Secretary Vernon was reporting to his patron, the duke of Shrewsbury, the news from Holland that "it is believed . . . the adjustment was made at Loo about the Spanish succession. That Comte Tallard and Sir Joseph Williamson were shut up with the King seven or eight hours." G[eorge] P. R. James, ed., *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III* (London, 1841), II, 193-94; see also Klopp, VIII, 231-32. Louis XIV, writing to Tallard on November 11, said that the existence of the treaty, though not the details, was "almost publicly known." Louis XIV to Comte Tallard, Nov. 11, 1698, Grimblot, II, 185-86; see also p. 213, notes.)

<sup>18</sup> Portland to Vernon, Oct. 7 (N.S.), 1698, no. 18 in *Votes* (J.C.B.). Also in Japikse, II, 106, which reads "without troubling at the remembrance," etc., clearly an error.

<sup>19</sup> No. 24 in *Votes* (J.C.B.). Not published elsewhere. The letter is dated from Whitehall although at this time Portland was on the Continent. Evidently it was drawn up in London and then sent to Portland, who dated it October 8 and signed it. See no. 19 in *Votes* (J.C.B.).

there was the Habsburg emperor, who also had pretensions to the Spanish throne. England had promised to support his cause by the Treaty of Alliance of 1689, though it could be argued that this promise had been rendered obsolete by the Peace of Ryswick.

But equally important was the question of politics at home. Whatever the members of the English Parliament might think of international morality, they were bound to ask how the treaty was to be enforced. Portland (and William) believed that England must still maintain a strong force, if only to make Louis XIV think it the part of wisdom to carry out the treaty. Vernon expressed doubts in his letter of October 7/17:

I beleive your Lord[shi]ps conclusion to be very right that it was a force in being w[hi]ch brought on the peace and it is hardly to be maintain'd by any other means, but your Lord[shi]p remembers how eagerly men run into contrary notions here and how pressing they were for reducing the Troops to an inconsiderable number; it was visible they would consider the matter but on one side, which was present ease and what was most agreeable to the constitucon. I doubt whether they will be much altered the next winter especially if they shall heare that the French are in good earnest reforming theire forces as not thinking it necessary to be at that charge. I cannot but think we shall have a very good luck if we are able to keep what [forces] we have.<sup>20</sup>

Even when the treaty had been signed and ratifications were being exchanged, the matter was not yet settled, for not only was a third secret article suddenly drawn up to deal with minor contingencies but the old problem of secrecy persisted. It had been agreed that the treaty should be communicated to the emperor as soon as the ratifications had been exchanged, but Somers, not deeming the moment appropriate, urged that it be kept secret longer. In reply Portland urged the consideration that since Auersperg had rumors of it, it was better that the emperor should be informed by the English than by the French.<sup>21</sup> However, William agreed to keep the secret still if possible.<sup>22</sup>

But the failure of secrecy was becoming more apparent every day. Vernon reported on October 28/November 7:

W[ha]t my L[or]d Chancelor proposed ab[ou]t delaying the co[mu]nication to the Emperor was as I take it upon a supposition that the matter would otherwise remain a secret. I dare answer that it hath been very carefully observed here, but by hints and Items that came from that side I perceive it hath taken more air then I imagined; besides in a letter I rec[eiv]ed this day from Mr Sutton dated at Vienna the 22 that says that both Count de Aversberg and Count Goes have acquainted that court as they likewise have from other hands that propositions had

<sup>20</sup> Vernon to Portland, Oct. 7, 1698, no. 20 in *Votes* (J.C.B.). Not published elsewhere.

<sup>21</sup> No. 19 in *Votes* (J.C.B.); Japikse, II, 107.

<sup>22</sup> No. 22 in *Votes* (J.C.B.); Japikse, II, 108.



been made by Count Tallard for dividing the Spanish Monarchy, and those Ministers have orders to inform themselves w[ha]t the propositions are, the Reception they have met w[i]th, and w[ha]t progress is made therein; I am afraid Count de Aversberg is wel enough instructed to make a great noise of it here when he shal come over and that he wil be industrious to blow it about w[i]th all the ill natured [?] he can give it.<sup>23</sup>

Much the same reaction is indicated by Vernon's next letter (November 1/11):

Since I made an answer to y[ou]r Lord[shi]ps letter of the 25 past, I have showed it to my L[or]d Chancellor who took notice of w[ha]t y[ou]r Lord[shi]p mentions of his opinion ab[ou]t suspending any communication of the Treaty to be made to the Emperor much in the same manner I thought he would, and therefore ventured to write it last post only he added that he had seen letters both from Loo and the Hague that speak broader of these matters then he expected, and he doubts whether the french will be willing this should be kept a secret; y[ou]r Lord[shi]p therefore wil consider whether it be not more advisable that the first communication be made to the Emperor by his Ma[jes]ty according to the terms of the Agree[m]ent then that it should be conveyed to him from France or any other way; I think all that remains is to justifie and support the Treaty rather then avoid coming to an Eclaircissement ab[ou]t it; if any delay were necessary I believe y[ou]r Lord[shi]p would however think it fit that Mr Hop and Mr Sutton should have notice that his Ma[jes]ty was sending an envoy to Vienna and that his motions might depend upon the Orders that should be given him as to w[ha]t may influence us here: If the King of Spain be as wel recovered as is said, I do not see how the keeping this secret wil be of the same use to us, as if he were stil languishing, for if the danger be removed either by his recovery, or by such other means as are like to keep of[f] a war with France, I am affraid we shal not exert ourselves as we ought to do.<sup>24</sup>

This is the gist of the evidence of the letters, which, together with the official documents—the treaties, the commissions, and the ratifications—constituted the evidence which the House of Commons had before it in respect to the partition treaties. We are not concerned here with the further course of diplomacy and events on the Continent, nor with what is known now about matters which were obscure in 1701. This is what the Commons knew, and it is clear that the correspondence roused a fury against the four lords.

It is impossible to read the letters without a feeling that the accused themselves considered that they were acting unconstitutionally, even if they could maintain later that they had violated no law. It is true, as Somers argued in his reply to the articles of impeachment, that he had not advised the

<sup>23</sup> Vernon to Portland, Oct. 28 (O.S.), 1698, no. 21 in *Votes* (J.C.B.). Not published elsewhere. A considerable part of this letter (and of others at this time) deals with the question of Ireland and with the problem of what to do with Sir William Jennings, who came to England on pretense of bringing news of plots.

<sup>24</sup> Vernon to Portland, Nov. 1/11, 1698, no. 27 in *Votes* (J.C.B.). Not published elsewhere.



treaty and had even made objections, though the reading of Vernon's letter could only lead the king and Portland to conclude that all those consulted were cordially in favor of the project and that the country would thank them for it if it knew of the treaty.<sup>25</sup>

More serious is the charge against Somers for sealing a commission with blanks and doing so without a formal warrant. In his reply to the articles of impeachment he maintained that the king's letter gave him all the authority he required. His subsequent maneuvers to secure a regular warrant he explained on the grounds "not that he doubted his Majestys said letter to be a sufficient warrant, but for that such warrant might be more proper to be produced, if occasion should require, than his Majesty's said letter; which, by reason of other Matters therein contained, ought not to be produced without his Majesty's permission, and which is now made use of by his Majesty's gracious leave. . . ."<sup>26</sup> This is very plausible but Somers' actual letter to William has a different ring. The actual passage (omitted from Grimblot's *Letters*) based the request for a duly executed warrant on this motive: "so as it may not be known but that I had it in time."<sup>27</sup> Obviously Somers knew at the time that he was laying himself open to a grave accusation.

In any case, the blanks in the commission were a most extraordinary device. Not only were they quite unnecessary except on the supposition that William had not yet secured the consent of Portland to serve as plenipotentiary<sup>28</sup> but they made the commission into a blank check. The only precaution Somers took in this respect was to express his hope that the king would appoint no one not an Englishman or a naturalized subject.

It is true enough that, in spite of all the precedents, the responsibility for which an impeachment was intended to serve as a sanction was not always clear. It was accepted that the king could do no wrong but that his officials could. There was, however, no collective responsibility and it was in a futile attempt to secure this that a well-known clause was inserted in the Act of

<sup>25</sup> On this point, though not relevant to the charges as not a part of the evidence, it is interesting to note that Orford on August 16/26, at the very time that the negotiations were coming to a head but apparently before he knew of them, wrote to Shrewsbury: "Here is no news, but that we daily expect to heare the king of Spain is dead. What will become of us then, God knows! I do not see that the king has made any provision for such an accident, though often pressed to it, the neglect of which, in my poor opinion, will prove very fatal to England; and those people in business blamed, who c[oul]d not help it." *Private and Original Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury . . .*, ed. by William Coxe (London, 1821), p. 522.

<sup>26</sup> *Commons Journals*, XIII, 576.

<sup>27</sup> No. 5 in *Votes* (J.C.B.); see p. 482 above.

<sup>28</sup> William's relations with Portland at this time were strained, and it was only by appealing to his former favorite's sense of loyalty that the king could get him to continue negotiations. See Marion E. Grew, *William Bentinck and William III* (New York, 1924), *passim*.

Settlement during this very session of 1701 requiring matters of state to be considered before the Privy Council.<sup>29</sup>

In this connection it is interesting to note the way—at first sight very curious—in which some privy councillors were selected for impeachment while others were not. The Whig histories have made great play with the fact that the leading Tories involved were allowed to go unassailed. But let us look at the facts. In connection with the second partition treaty neither Tories nor Whigs were impeached. Portland was a very special case as being a naturalized foreigner and a favorite out of favor, always fair game. Lord Jersey, a leading Tory, also signed that treaty, but, as he was acting only as an immediate formal instrument of the king, no one thought of attacking him. Portland negotiated the treaty; he and Jersey signed it. But it is worth noting that on the basis of connection with the second treaty party passion could not secure an impeachment of Somers, the Whig.<sup>30</sup>

As to the first treaty, the only one in connection with which serious charges were brought, the persons concerned were Shrewsbury, Vernon, and the four lords who were impeached. Shrewsbury we may leave out of consideration as he was an invalid living abroad in 1701. But Vernon had certainly connived at the questionable acts and he was a Whig. He did not owe his immunity to his party but apparently to his character as a mere bureaucrat rather than as a policy-maker.

It was quite possible to object to the partition treaties in principle (a fact which has often been overlooked) and, while it is true that party passion did run high, it must also be recognized that there was substance to the charges.

In the end the affair developed into a violent controversy between the two houses of Parliament and ultimately wound up in a fiasco, the full story of which cannot be recounted here. The foreign situation grew every day more threatening. Already in February the French had occupied the barrier fortresses. Soon afterward they occupied Milan. It was apparent that France was not carrying out the partition policy to which she had committed herself. France was now the villain instead of the four lords, who began to look like patriots guilty of nothing but trying to save Europe from a terrible war.

It was therefore easy for the war party to stir up a furious popular agitation. As a consequence the Tory majority displayed more and more reluctance to

<sup>29</sup> See I. Naamani-Tarkow, "The Significance of the Act of Settlement in the Evolution of English Democracy," *Political Science Quarterly*, LVIII (December, 1943).

<sup>30</sup> The motion to impeach Somers for "fixing the seal" to the second treaty failed by a vote of 189 to 182. Luttrell, V, 33. G. N. Clark, *Later Stuarts* (Oxford, 1934), p. 187, erroneously conveys the impression that Jersey "had been implicated [in the first treaty] as much as the whigs." Jersey had nothing to do with it except that he was notified, for his information, of what was afoot. Tallard to Louis XIV, Sept. 15, 1698, and Portland to Jersey, same date, Grimblot, II, 163-64.

try the issue of the impeachments until finally the House of Lords took matters into its own hands and England was treated to the spectacle of impeachment trials for Somers and Orford at which no accusers appeared. The two accused were formally acquitted and the other impeachments were dismissed amid the general acclaim.

The fiasco is obvious but it has obscured the merits of the case, which it has been the object of this article to discuss.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

## General History

SCIENTISTS AGAINST TIME. By *James Phinney Baxter, 3rd.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1946. Pp. xv, 473. \$5.00.)

HERE is one of the most significant books of World War II. It is, as Dr. Vannevar Bush says in a foreword, "the brief official history of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. It is the history of a rapid transition, from warfare as it has been waged for thousands of years by the direct clash of hordes of men, to a new type of warfare in which science becomes applied to destruction on a wholesale basis. It marks, therefore, a turning point in the broad history of civilization." And while this book deals chiefly with the work of the nation's top scientists, I doubt whether any scientist could have written it. Only a historian, trained in the field of scientific and historical research could have produced such a volume. The National Research Defense Council, soon succeeded by the Office of Scientific Research and Development, rapidly drew into its organization the distinguished scientists not only of the United States but of our allied nations as well. In chronological, historical order, President Baxter tells how they worked together, feverishly, frantically, to produce the weapons that won the war. It was all a race "against time." Our allied scientists had to anticipate the work that the enemy scientists were doing, the nature of their weapons, and the speed of production. In dramatic, yet factual order, Mr. Baxter recounts the race for superiority in developing such weapons as radar, loran, the proximity fuse, flame throwers, the Dukw, the weasel, weapons used in amphibious warfare and aerial combat, and, finally, the atomic bomb. All, "against time."

When Hitler started on his mad march in 1939, he firmly believed that Germany could speedily accomplish her purpose and end the war within a few months, before the Allies could develop new weapons to compete against his. Of all Hitler's blunders (and there were many), this seems to have been his worst. In gloating over his early victories, in 1939-1940, Hitler thought he had knocked out the Allies, and ordered the basic research on radar stopped. This is only one of many examples of Nazi bureaucracy, or Nazi blundering. A German scientist is quoted as saying, just before the end of the war, that they lost, "because of incomplete mobilization and utilization of [Germany's] scientific brains." And Admiral Doenitz is quoted December 14, 1943, as saying that the Allies had rendered the U-boat ineffective and that they had achieved this objective "not through superior tactics or strategy, but through superiority in the field of science; this finds its expression in the modern battle weapon—detection." How well the grand admiral knew! Deception and detection played a significant role, especially during

the closing months of the war. On D-day, for example, our radar countermeasure experts turned loose a bewildering array of jammers and deception devices. They blinded the eyes of the enemy radars and a "ghostly procession of non-existent battleships, cruisers, destroyers, transports, landing craft, and air squadrons swam into the Germans' ken, thanks to the most sophisticated faking in the history of man." Another important deception device was the smoke screen as developed by our scientists. "One shudders," says Mr. Baxter, "to think what would have happened to our fleet off Leyte, Lingayen, or Okinawa if smoke had not been available to shroud it."

In amphibious warfare, the Dukw was the most successful device designed by scientists. This was the weapon that caused Churchill to remark, "You Americans can do anything." In aviation, scientists shifted the basis of air warfare from hunches to statistics. The incendiary bombs were our most important weapons in knocking out Japan. The amazing improvements in medical and surgical sciences reduced the death rate from wounds to less than one half the rate in World War I. Ninety-seven per cent of those casualties who got back to front line dressing stations survived, and fifty-eight per cent of the men who were wounded were able to return to combat duty.

The reader is constantly impressed by the valuable results obtained by the pooling of the work of British, Canadian, and American scientists. It is Mr. Baxter's opinion that this reciprocal exchange of scientific knowledge had more important strategic consequences than the exchange of destroyers for naval bases. The two concluding chapters, as might be expected, deal with the atomic bomb. Here one will find an excellent, though brief, review of the scientific experiments and developments that led to this newest and most powerful of all man-made weapons. Throughout the entire book, one idea seems to stand out above all others, namely, that free men, working as a team, can outperform all the efforts of those who are driven by bureaucratic decrees.

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JOHN W. OLIVER

A HISTORY OF MEDICINE. By *Douglas Guthrie, M.D.* With an Introduction by Samuel C. Harvey, M.D., Wm. H. Carmalt Professor of Surgery, Yale University School of Medicine. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1946. Pp. xvi, 448. \$6.00.)

THE teaching of medical history receives scant attention in most medical schools. In a few, a handful of hours each year are set aside for formal lectures on the subject; in the majority, students are exposed to the historical approach only indirectly and very casually.

Most practicing physicians, also, know little medical history. While a few doctors have been trained in the science of historical research and take it seriously, the rest indulge in the reading of medical history as an avocation, contenting

themselves with acquiring, as best they can, no more than a superficial knowledge of the background of their work.

In preparing his book, Dr. Guthrie was familiar with all this. He did not set out to compose a comprehensive textbook on the subject of medical history but rather to tell the story of past achievements in this profession as a narrative which would follow a natural sequence, which would be well written and informative, and which perhaps might pleasantly fill the historical needs of a large group of readers.

The book first appeared in England. At once it received favorable reviews by such representative medical periodicals as the *British Medical Journal* and *Lancet*. The American edition was soon forthcoming; on this side of the Atlantic, too, it was well spoken of and promised to become popular. Periodicals commonly read by doctors commented on it in flattering terms; so influential a magazine as the *Journal of the American Medical Association* characterized it as a readable account of medical history that might profitably be added to every physician's library.

A more critical review appeared in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. This review pointed out a number of inaccuracies so far as names and dates were concerned. More important, the book was disappointing in that it seemed inadequately to integrate the general course of advancing medical knowledge at any time with contemporaneous technological, political, philosophical, social, and economic trends—factors, without doubt, which have always modified the progress of medical practice and research and will continue to do so.

Such scattered opinions suggest that certain readers may find fault with Dr. Guthrie's work and think not too highly of it, while others, with less highly developed critical faculties, will enjoy it and learn much from it. If the reader regards the book as an attempt at an authoritative history of medicine, he may consider it superficial and insignificant; but if he looks upon it through the eyes of the author as the unpretentious story of certain aspects of medical history, he will be delighted with it.

The book is written in an easy style, the illustrations are attractive, and at the end of each chapter is a carefully selected list of references to further reading on the subject under discussion. Certainly, the pathway of medicine over the centuries is traced satisfactorily, and while the relation of medicine to a variety of intrinsic or extrinsic factors may be ill defined, this shortcoming is compensated for by terse and vivid descriptions of great medical personalities as they have come along, turning them into living people instead of dead names and making their contributions, therefore, all the more dramatic and memorable.

On the whole, Dr. Guthrie's book has sufficient charm and individuality to attract many readers among medical students and doctors. Since the author wrote it for no other purpose than to arouse their interest in history, he deserves hearty congratulations for the skillful manner in which he has accomplished this task.

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REGINALD FITZ, M.D.

THE FUTURE IN PERSPECTIVE. By *Sigmund Neumann*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1946. Pp. x, 406. \$4.00.)

THIS little book represents a well-organized endeavor to knit into one cohesive pattern the story of the two world wars of the twentieth century and the uneasy armistice between them. It is intended for the general reader rather than for the professional historian. It could not well be otherwise in view of the stupendous happenings of the last twenty-two years, a longer period yet if we include Professor Neumann's analysis of the causes of World War I.

*The Future in Perspective* is by no means simply a summary of events; its point of view throughout is to assume that the reader already is acquainted with certain crises and that the author has but to draw conclusions from them. This is an excellent course to pursue within reason; but the trouble is that the memory of most people is so short that in the rush of startling events during the last decade there will be many to whom Munich is but the name of a German city occupied by American troops, or at most synonymous with a fatal surrender of England and France to Hitler on the eve of the war. In consequence, unless the skeletal facts of what took place at Munich are restated, this book cannot be read by many with profit.

Professor Neumann has little to say about Russia. In so far as the Soviets did not participate in the activities of the League of Nations during the twenties and stayed on the sidelines during most of the diplomatic wranglings of the thirties, he is quite justified in excluding them from a diplomatic history. Yet *The Future in Perspective* is more than a diplomatic history and certainly Russian ideology played quite as prominent a role in influencing both thought and act as did the writings of Upton Sinclair and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

It is also somewhat to be regretted that so much space should be given to personalities. The second World War is covered in this book in fifty-three pages. About half of them consist of character sketches of various nationalistic chieftains—for President Roosevelt some eight pages of eulogy. Thomas Carlyle overdid his heroes, but at least he was consistent in denouncing democracy. The author glorifies democracy but is as eager as Carlyle to magnify the accomplishments of his heroes.

A few errors of fact have slipped into this book. The overpopulation of Japan can scarcely be said to be "largely of the rulers' own making" (p. 255). Lloyd George's parliamentary career was not the longest on record (p. 68), T. P. O'Connor and W. E. Gladstone were both members of the House of Commons for a longer period. One is also dubious about the claim made by the author that the battle of Langemarck in October, 1914, wiped out "the prime of the Reich's elite" (p. 46). Even if 1,000 volunteers in the German army were killed that day, the battle of Langemarck hardly deserves the emphasis placed upon it in a twenty-one page account of the first World War.

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## Ancient and Medieval History

MEDIEVAL ISLAM: A STUDY IN CULTURAL ORIENTATION. By  
*Gustave E. von Grunebaum*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946.  
Pp. vii, 365. \$4.00.)

THE enterprise of drawing a faithful portrait of the entire Islamic civilization in its manifold aspects within the narrow limits of about 350 pages is likely to discourage many a scholar, and those bold enough to embark upon it are constantly under the threat either of being too vague in their factual statements and sacrificing positive information to a striving for synthesis, or of overdrawing their picture with an excess of detail which prevents the reader from gaining a view of the whole in perspective. Professor von Grunebaum has successfully avoided both pitfalls. Equipped with firsthand knowledge of the wide range of his inquiry, supplied with a keen insight into human relations, and blessed with an unusual gift for happy phrasing, he has given in this book, which grew out of a series of lectures delivered at the University of Chicago, the best and most original presentation of Islam written in recent decades, a book highly enjoyable and profitable to both layman and scholar.

The main problem which one has to face in appraising the historical character and the permanent value of Islam is that of its originality and the measure of its share in the development of world civilization. Overrating and underrating should be equally avoided. Islamic civilization, to be sure, grew out of the blending of the heritage of the Near Eastern, Hellenistic-Byzantine, and Persian worlds. Not only in religious thought and practice, state organization, arts, and sciences but also in the field of literature, the absolute originality of which is still upheld by many scholars, Islam is deeply indebted to its predecessors. One of Grunebaum's greatest contributions towards a better understanding of Islamic culture has been to show in a series of monographic studies, utilized in this volume, that Arabic poetry and narrative prose (with the *Arabian Nights* as an outstanding example) developed under the impact of Hellenistic-Byzantine models to an extent never before realized. On the other hand, although the influence of Islam upon the rebirth of Western medieval science is generally recognized and its decisive, if not unique, impact on romance poetry cannot be denied in the light of recent research, this influence was more stimulative than creative. Western civilization at its best shows an absorption of many Islamic elements though its essential features were never molded by them.

Islam has, however, its own originality, which "consists exactly in the capacity of adapting the alien inspiration to its needs, of re-creating it in its own garb, and rejecting the unadaptable. . . its flavor is unmistakable on whatever it touched; and, while very little of its conceptual and not too much of its emotional contribution is new or unique, its style of thought and range of feelings are without a real precedent" (p. 324).

In Grunebaum's presentation, as was to be expected from his previous work, stress is laid more on the literary side of Islam than on its political, social, religious, and scientific aspects, although these are by no means overlooked. In drawing the main lines of the spiritual structure of Islamic society, Grunebaum points out that at the time Islam arose as a third world power and as an enemy and a rival of the two great medieval "power blocks," the Latin and the Byzantine, the social setup and the spiritual atmosphere of all of them were essentially the same ("One World" need not necessarily be uniform). From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, western Europe, Constantinople, and Baghdad were not fundamentally different in either state or social relations, or religious and philosophical issues. However, while the Byzantine Empire eventually collapsed, and its legacy, although not in its entirety and not without far-reaching changes, passed to the Slavic world, and while in western Europe the Renaissance opened the way to the stupendous development of modern civilization, Islam was stricken by paralysis and has remained static, or in a condition of gradual decline (less conspicuous, to be sure, in Persia and India than in the Near East and North Africa) until the present day, when the impact of Western civilization and the political events of the last three decades have led it, through a rather tumultuous and not yet fully balanced process, towards its own Renaissance.

In his approach to Islam Grunebaum has failed to emphasize the absence of the political element in the human ideal of the Moslem (a stray remark in a footnote on page 257 does not do justice to the subject). It would seem to this reviewer that the fact that the medieval Moslem was anything but a "political animal" was chiefly responsible for the lag in the vitality of Islam. Neither the communal self-government of tenth to fourteenth century Europe nor the shift in the ruling classes of Greece in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. ever took place in Islam, where the theocratic government of the earliest times was superseded, after a shortlived "Arabian Empire," by an absolute monarchy of ancient Eastern brand, only to split up later into multifarious military autocracies.

*University of Pennsylvania*

G. LEVI DELLA VIDA

TWO QUEENS OF BAGHDAD: MOTHER AND WIFE OF HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. By *Nabia Abbott*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 277. \$3.50.)

DR. Abbott has constituted herself the chronicler of royal womanhood in Islam and the champion of their fair name and fame. In her *Aishah, the Beloved of Mohammed* (Chicago, 1942) she drew a very sympathetic picture of the Prophet's favorite wife in both her public and private life and also rendered a quite sober judgment upon the political influence of Islam's first "First Lady," justly deprecating the "exaggerated estimate" of the Catholic scholar, Lammens, in his researches into the origins of the caliphate, regarding Aishah's political influence in the last

days of Mohammed's life. But she accepted nonetheless as credible the important, and even at times major, part played by her twelve years later in the fateful events that led up to the murder of the third caliph, 'Othman, and in the civil wars that ensued. In Dr. Abbott's hands Aishah becomes a rather likable wench and a woman full of a robust common sense, whose spring of action was loyalty to kith and kin, tempered with some genial opportunism.

In 1942 Dr. Abbott also published, in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, a paper on "Women and the State in Early Islam," in which she followed the fortunes and "highlighted" the political influence of some of the Umayyad queens; and now in the present work she turns to the women of the Abbasids, the successors of the Umayyads, to throw the light of history, and of romance and legend as well apparently, upon Abbasid womankind and the courts which they adorned. For what Dr. Abbott presents in her book is not so much a disquisition upon the lives, persons, characters, and roles of the two queens of the title page as a lively portrayal of court life in Baghdad during the second half of the eighth century; and sometimes the two fair protagonists are pushed right off the stage by their more widely discussed and advertised husbands and sons with their ministers, jesters, and poets.

Chapter vi, for example, does not tell us much about the good Zubaidah. Its chief characters are her husband, Hārūn al-Rashīd, her two sons, Amīn and Ma'mūn, and the Barmakids; and Zubaidah herself remains a shadowy figure, whose part in the intrigues of succession, or in the fall of the Barmakids, is obscure, seldom mentioned and sometimes discredited. Most of the chapters of the book contain, indeed, much matter that has little or no bearing upon the two queens but throws the spotlight upon their husbands and sons, illustrating by anecdotes from history and legend their characters, conduct, and preoccupations, and especially their interest in female beauty and accomplishments.

Such matter does not advance our knowledge of the two queens much, if at all, except, with Dr. Abbott, we ask rhetorical questions about their reactions to the fate, or peccadillos of their husbands, or sons (*cf.* pp. 80-83, 107, 133-34), or presume to reconstruct imaginatively their emotions and thoughts in various circumstances (*cf.* pp. 121, 157, 159, 212, 213, 218, 228, 230). Such expedients "set the fancy free," no doubt, "to work and play in the realms" of legend and romance, and allow an author to suggest what he is unable to substantiate and to assume a knowledge of the unknown. Miss Abbott's summing up of Khaizurān's life and person (pp. 130-34) is a typical example of this style of writing, which is surely out of place in a serious study, even if good of its kind. And whoever attempts it, should at least try for consistency. Miss Abbott's Khaizurān can be an amiable lady on page 41 and yet have an imperious and fiery temper on page 45.

The introduction of so much irrelevant matter has its own proper explanation. Dr. Abbott has well-nigh scraped the bottom of the barrel for material on her two queens and scanned Arabic literature through from the ninth to the fifteenth cen-

tury to achieve her end, laying under contribution not only histories but geographies, all sorts of biographical dictionaries, anthologies, belles-lettres, poets, even grammars and theological works, and one or two nineteenth and twentieth century authors as well. The catch was apparently small. Dr. Abbott complains of a conspiracy of silence (p. 129, and *cf.* pp. 55, 196).

Dr. Abbott defines her aim on page 18 to be the telling of "the stories of these two queens of Baghdad in as far as the historical records have preserved them," but obviously history has for her a very broad connotation, as the list of her sources might suggest; and, although she has in general succeeded in her conscious effort to keep close to her sources (p. 82), she does not seem to have considered it necessary to weigh their relative merits and trustworthiness critically.

The story of Hārūn's pilgrimage of the year 790 A.D., for example, is associated in Dr. Abbott's version of it with his marriage to Ghādir, his dead brother's beloved concubine, whereby both broke a solemn oath to al-Hādī. Miss Abbott cites as authorities (p. 101) Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, the 'Iqd, Ibn Tagribirdī, Ibn Hījāh, Waṭwaṭ and Wüstenfeld. But Ṭabarī merely states that Hārūn went on pilgrimage that year from Baghdad, and so also does Ibn al-Athīr. Ibn Tagribirdī adds that he walked on woolen mats, and that the reason for his walking was that he saw the Prophet of God in a dream, who said to him, "This affair is appointed for you," and so he pilgrimaged walking. I have been unable to consult the edition of the 'Iqd cited by Miss Abbott, but the story as told by her occurs in Ibn Hījāh, a fifteenth century anthologist, which is its first appearance, so far as I can discover.

To state these facts is to raise a serious question in historical criticism. For, as Miss Abbott has herself pointed out, "Persian and Arabic sources alike were purloined and juggled to provide many an anecdote and basic plot" not only, as Dr. Abbott has it, "for the several stories that are woven around the magic names of Hārūn and Zubaidah . . . in *The Thousand and One Nights*," but also for a vast number of the tales told by quite honest anthologists and literati about them and other romantic figures. To make use of such works as sources for history is venturesome, and to refer to historians such as Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr in the same connection is misleading. The stories had their place and value. Even al-Ghazālī sanctioned the forging of traditions from the Prophet. But the criterion was not historical truth; it was moral, or literary, edification.

The statement of a historian should also not be used to bolster up a thesis for which otherwise there is little or no evidence, except it be correctly reported and interpreted. On page 54 Dr. Abbott cites a historian—she does not say which of the five given authorities she is quoting, but it is probably Ṭabarī—and argues from his words that Khaizurān wielded autocratic power in the reign of her husband, al-Mahdī. She renders the passage as follows: "Khaizurān in the first part of Hādī's reign used to settle his affairs and *to deal with him as she had dealt with his father [Mahdī] before him* in assuming absolute power to command and forbid." But what Ṭabarī reports is that "in the beginning of the Caliphate of Mūsā

[al-Hādī] Khaizurān used to decide his affairs without consulting him and to deal with him as his father had dealt with him before, appropriating to herself absolute authority (Arabic, the commanding and forbidding)." Ibn al-Athīr employs the same phrase, and its sense is quite clear in his text. He also goes on to say that al-Hādī soon put an end to Khaizurān's pretensions. And it is scarcely credible that a Muslim husband permitted what a son denied. There is much evidence of learning in the book, more than enough, anyhow, to have produced a good study of the subject, if only the principles of history had been honored and the trumpery methods of the modern, psychoanalytical biography avoided.

Harvard University

WILLIAM THOMSON

LITERARY PORTRAITURE IN THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE. By *Blanchard W. Bates*. (New York: G. E. Stechert and Company. 1945. Pp. vii, 168.)

WHILE scholars have been intent on establishing the gradual preparation of Renaissance elements within the Middle Ages, a similar interest in historical continuity, though less noticed by general historians, has lessened the rigidity of accepted boundary lines at the end of the Renaissance. For France the years about 1600 were long regarded as a sharp divide between the age of the Renaissance and the religious wars on the one side, and, on the other, the period that witnessed the refinement of French society and culture merging into the age of Louis XIV. During the past ten or twenty years, however, sixteenth century annals and *mémoires* preparatory to the seventeenth century type have been restored to their historical places. The history of the literary *salon*, that very nerve center of later French culture, has been traced back as far as the humanistic circles of about 1550. We also have learned that contacts with primitive overseas civilizations stimulated the widening of the intellectual horizons from the early sixteenth century onward. In the well-written treatise under discussion, the problem has been posed whether the very mastery of psychological observation and literary portraiture characteristic of the century of La Rochefoucauld, de Retz, and La Bruyère was also an offspring of the sixteenth century Renaissance.

Even a cursory comparison of Bates's work with its only precursor (a good German doctoral dissertation by G. A. Jekel in 1929) shows the extent of the progress achieved. Relying on the related studies of recent years, Bates for the first time succeeds in sifting the entire material available for sixteenth century French biography. As a consequence, even in the study of familiar sources accents are shifted, as in the appraisal of Binet's *Vie de Ronsard* and Matthieu's presentation of Henry de Guise. The core of the book is formed by two chapters providing a fresh analysis of Brantôme's literary portrait gallery of late sixteenth century society, and an inquiry of considerable originality into Montaigne's art of self-portrayal. After a glance at the effects of "exotic travels" and the influence of the aesthetic

standards of the Renaissance, the author concludes that the development "must be viewed without a sharp break between the two centuries" (p. 146), and that "between XVIth and XVIIth century [literary] portraits there existed a general similarity of form, content, and function" (p. 148).

It may be doubted, however, that the evidence submitted in this book suffices to support so broad a generalization. Bates's arguments are virtually limited to observations of "realism," the supposition being that "realism" in literary depiction is bound to indicate a Renaissance outlook on life, and at the same time is identical with "modern" literary portraiture. This, undoubtedly, is an oversimplification, even a distortion, of the nature of the Renaissance, which should not be reiterated these many years after the incisive objections raised by J. Huizinga and other scholars. (Cf. this writer's remarks in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXI [1931], 95 ff., 106 ff., and in *American Historical Review*, XLVI [1941], 623). In the orbit of French culture in the fifteenth century, for instance, an incontestably pre-Renaissance writer like Chastellain was in his presentation of human gesture and appearance "a master of telling realistic effects" (to use Huizinga's words). In Commynes' literary portraiture we find a similar case of pre-Renaissance realism, as Jekel has pointed out. In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, the punctilious "visual representation" of external appearance which Bates accepts as a criterion of "modern portraiture" fell into neglect with some of the masters of psychological analysis in the times of La Rochefoucauld and de Retz (a fact emphasized in P. Ganter's study of seventeenth century biography). When it is added that in the history of Renaissance art in Italy "realism" is an appropriate label for certain phases of the Quattrocento, but no longer for the "High Renaissance," we must conclude that isolated attention to the element of "realism" will often lead astray and certainly not tell the whole story. (A recent publication of presumably fundamental importance for the "realism" problem has just come to the writer's knowledge: a treatise by G. Weise, entitled "Der Realismus des 15. Jahrhunderts und seine geistigen Voraussetzungen und Parallelen," in *Die Welt als Geschichte*, VIII [1942], 133-63, 300-22.)

More important for the growth of the new capacity for observation may have been the humanistic interest in human nature, the admiration of the Renaissance for the greatness of human deeds and human passions. As early as the fifteenth century, in fact, humanistic literature had started laying the groundwork of that psychology of emotions that was to become the ferment for French biography and tragedy after 1600. For the English sixteenth century, some such interrelations between the ethical standards of the Renaissance, the new psychology, and the biographical attainments have been recently examined by M. Schütt in an interesting small volume which is not mentioned in Bates's otherwise very complete and useful bibliography (*Die englische Biographie der Tudor-Zeit*, Hamburg, 1930). It is to be hoped that this counterpart to Bates's investigations will receive due attention (along with Huizinga's indispensable comment on "realism") in



the future study of Renaissance biography, which, with the spadework done for both the English and the French sixteenth century, should henceforth be capable of a comparative approach.

*Institute for Advanced Study*

HANS BARON

## Modern European History

THE SCOT IN HISTORY. By *Wallace Notestein*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1946. Pp. xvii, 371. \$4.00.)

IN historical studies the name Notestein signifies high scholarship; in the field of Scottish historical studies the name Wallace—Bruce and Wallace were among the author's family names—assures that even a chauvinistic Scot will "regard even his asperities with the kindly allowance that is made for family idiosyncrasies," as Hume Brown wrote of John Knox, Voltaire, and Dr. Johnson.

"A Study of the Interplay of Character and History" is the subtitle printed on the jacket of this book. Dr. Notestein modestly disclaims any use of social psychology or sociology in his description of national character. It is no matter. "Personality," about which psychologists continue to debate fiercely, was not invented by them. Evaluation of persons and peoples is as old as language. The author is in a worthy tradition when he writes not as a technician in either of the new fields but as "an American amateur in Scottish history."

To characterize all Scots of all times and all areas is a difficult undertaking and requires a wealth of sources. "As far as possible" Dr. Notestein has gone to original sources. But in spite of the availability of publications by the Scottish Text Society, the Abbotsford, Bannatyne, Maitland, Hunterian, Roxburghe, Spalding, and other clubs and organizations, Scottish sources are fewer than English ones for English history. For example, Volume II of the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* devotes twenty-four pages to items related to the "Social Background" of the literature of England, 1660–1800, three pages to that of Ireland, and two to that of Scotland. Nevertheless, Dr. Notestein, in addition to sources usually sought by a historian, has been able to use with apparent enjoyment the poetry and religious literature of Scotland. He has made especially clear the effect of the Scottish Reformation and the persistence of the Presbyterian influence, as Trevelyan has emphasized the effect of Puritanism in his *English Social History*.

The book makes delightful reading. It is a lively, philosophical essay, not a dissertation cluttered up with footnotes and documented allusions. The literary and historical allusions are there in plenty; but, as in the case of a T. S. Eliot poem, they engage the appreciation of the informed reader without distracting the less learned. Any reader with Scottish forbears will fill the margins with his own invisible illustrations of Dr. Notestein's generalizations or with comments or queries. For instance, beside Dr. Notestein's words, "Burns was the first poet in



modern Scotland to show a feeling for human equality," I would underline "modern" and "equality," and write, "Cf. Sir David Lyndsay and his presentation of the character and relationships of John Commonweil." Dr. Notestein knows what I mean, for he allows that there is some, "but little," such feeling in the verse of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He says also there was "little" just before Burns. When that poet was nine years old, six years before Burke's first speech on conciliation, the *Weekly Magazine*, or *Edinburgh Amusement*, printed items of open sympathy with the American colonists: October 6, 1768, reprinted from the *Boston Gazette* is the Philadelphia statement of July 30, 1768, on taxation without representation; later, "The Parody Parodized or the Massachusetts Song of Liberty"; and on December 1, an outspoken defense of the people of Boston. Of course, Dr. Notestein is right in emphasizing Burns's expression of democratic feeling. American readers might have been interested in a reprinting of the poet's letter to the *Edinburgh Courant*, in 1788, about the meaning of the Fourth of July and the "Ode on General Washington's Birthday," which he sent to Mrs. Dunlop in 1794. Our contemporary Scottish vernacular poet, C. M. Grieve ("Hugh MacDiarmid") declares that the last chorus in the "Jolly Beggars" contains "the lines which began the Revolution of Revolutions, compared with which the French Revolution is but a ripple on the sea of change. The Revolution of Burns is the insurrection of the naked spirit of man." Mr. Grieve is a poet—author of "First Hymn to Lenin." Wallace Notestein is a historian.

In the best sense then the author's analyses and comparisons, especially with things English, are evocative. I wish that Sir James Barrie could record the comments on this book in a celestial symposium by Lord Bryce, Lord Tweedsmuir, Ramsay MacDonald, George Adam Smith, and Andrew Carnegie. Lacking that, I'd like to hear what Malcolm MacDonald, the duchess of Atholl, General Montgomery, and Compton Mackenzie think about it. I'm sure they would be interested. So would the London correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun*, who on December 31, 1946, thought it worth while to cable that English papers publish on New Year's Day but not on Christmas, and that Scottish journals appear on Christmas but not at New Year's. This book explains how Scots got that way. It explains also, even to readers of "Wee Gillis," why Lowlanders and Highlanders are as they are.

*Goucher College*

DAVID ALLAN ROBERTSON

ENGLAND AND THE MEDITERRANEAN TRADITION: STUDIES IN ART, HISTORY, AND LITERATURE. Edited by the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, University of London. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. viii, 232. \$14.00.)

THIS magnificently illustrated book is essentially a reprint of Volume VI (1943) of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, with two articles sub-

tracted, and two added from other issues of the same publication. The material is presented for wider circulation, a bit wistfully one feels, on the ground that "the persistence of the Mediterranean tradition in England through all the vicissitudes of her history is a witness to the essential unity of European civilization." The subjects range from Fritz Saxl's "The Ruthwell Cross" (which should be read in conjunction with Meyer Schapiro's more recent article in the *Art Bulletin*, XXVI [1944], 232-45) to Anthony Blunt's "Blake's Pictorial Imagination." Americanists will be particularly interested by Charles Mitchell's "Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece." Rudolph Wittkower has so expanded and rewritten his "Pseudo-Palladian Elements in English Neo-Classical Architecture" that hereafter this 1945 version must be cited, rather than that of 1943. Likewise, Evelyn Jamison has added to her "Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century" a discussion improving Tancred Borenius' dating of the enameled Gospel cover of Capua which bears the earliest picture of St. Thomas Becket. The probability that it was made at Monte Cassino not more than six years after his assassination, is significant for an understanding of medieval cosmopolitanism. Of all the essays in this admirable volume, that of Miss Jamison is the best written and the most spacious in conception. It is a major contribution to the still unwritten history of diplomacy in the twelfth century, a period of critical importance, since it witnessed the emergence of the European state system. In minor matters Miss Jamison's article is likewise suggestive: her skill in dating the apsidal mosaics at Monreale (1188-89) gives hope that eventually we may solve the puzzles connected with the famous cloister of that same cathedral abbey.

In reading this collection of essays one is struck by the fact that, for practical purposes, to study the influence of the Mediterranean tradition is to study the cultural influence of Italy. More has come to us from that fecund peninsula than from any other comparable area of the globe, and our inheritance from Greece, Byzantium, and the Levant has been largely mediated and tintured by Italy. Yet both in Britain and America Italian studies are relatively neglected. Let us hope that this volume may attract more scholars to the field.

*Mills College*

LYNN WHITE, JR.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA: A STUDY IN ALLIED UNITY, 1812-1822.

By *Harold Nicolson*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1946. Pp. 312. \$4.00.)

THIS appears to be a *livre de circonstance*. The author, son of a famous British diplomatist (Sir Arthur Nicolson, later Lord Carnock) and for some years a member of the British foreign office, witnessed the collapse of the victorious coalition of 1918 during the Paris Peace Conference and the years immediately following, and he was evidently afraid that a similar fate might overtake the alliance of

1945. So it was a happy idea to examine the creation, functioning, and dissolution of the Fourth and Fifth Coalitions, which between 1813 and 1815 overthrew Napoleon and subsequently, as the Quadruple and then the Quintuple Alliance, attempted to set up the Concert of Europe. The Congress of Vienna was anathema to President Wilson, but the achievement of the Congress in making a settlement which kept peace between the Great Powers for a generation is now widely recognized.

Certain analogies between the situations created by the fall of Napoleon and the defeat of Hitler inevitably spring to mind. In 1815 the power most directly interested in opposing Russian expansion was Austria, in 1945 it was Great Britain. In 1815 Great Britain supported Austria, in 1945 the United States supported Great Britain. In 1815 Prussia had frequently to yield to decisions it did not like, in 1945 France was in much the same situation. But Mr. Nicolson properly warns against pressing these analogies too far, for events are determined, not by analogies but by what he calls "the combinations of circumstance." Certainly the problem presented by defeated Germany is much more complicated than that presented by defeated France, and about the only thing in common between Tsar Alexander I and Generalissimo Stalin is that they both ruled Russia. What it all comes to is that many of the issues of 1945-1947 are similar to the issues of 1814-1815. Consequently, anyone familiar with the obstacles faced and overcome by the Congress of Vienna will, or at least should be, tolerant if the Big Four of 1945 do not always easily agree and often postpone difficult decisions.

The author disclaims having done original research for his study, and the data he has assembled can be found in numerous accounts of the Congress. Naturally, he relied greatly on the work of Sir Charles Webster, whose *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* has become authoritative; for some reason Mr. Nicolson does not list in his bibliography Srbik's biography of Metternich or Lacour-Gayet's studies on Talleyrand, although both appeared before 1939 and were presumably available in England. Nevertheless, two qualities will warmly recommend Mr. Nicolson's narrative. In the first place, it is delightfully written. Readers of his *Peacemaking 1919* will recall how he translated his staccato diary into an informing and absorbing story. In the present book, he writes with that grace which seems to be the birthright of many English historians.

Secondly, Mr. Nicolson never forgets his own diplomatic young manhood, that is to say, he offers not merely a narrative of events, but presents these events as they happen in the course of a hard diplomatic tussle between four masters of the game—Castlereagh, Metternich, Nesselrode, and Talleyrand, each of whom had his own technique. Mr. Nicolson not only analyzes the reasons for each move but lets you know whether he thinks it a good move, and he takes account of the moods and manners of the players, who were human beings as well as successful statesmen; also, he is careful always to link up the diplomatic position at a given moment with the military situation. Thus the reader gets a clear and effective

picture of how diplomacy actually worked. The budding foreign service officer will probably learn much more from reading this book than from perusing some erudite manual of diplomacy, even though today diplomacy is conducted by bourgeois technicians rather than by *grands seigneurs*. In short, Mr. Nicolson, while he has not added to our knowledge of the Congress of Vienna, has written a most useful book which, although English in its approach, does not lose sight of a European point of view.

*Department of State*

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC. By *David Thomson*, Fellow and Tutor of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. 283. \$4.00.)

Mr. Thomson's book comes both too late and too soon. It is too late to contribute to that national introspection of the French which is so active today but which, to be effective, should have come in the thirties. It is too early to provide full answers for the collapse of France, because such answers must rest on much fundamental work and basic thinking still to be done.

Mr. Thomson's subject is democracy under the Third Republic, which he undertakes to discuss on the basis of a series of acceptable and promising categories: the Revolutionary tradition, the social bases, the democratic instrument, the national vision, the modern challenge. And much that he has to say in the way of more purely political narrative and analysis is interesting, well informed, and judicious. This is particularly true of his balanced treatment of the Vichy regime, of his thoughtful analysis of the four "new" factors which raised problems peculiar to the Third Republic—a new papal policy, a united Germany and Italy, overseas expansion, and a new era of industrialization in Europe. But there are other directions in which his book is less satisfactory.

Political history, to be meaningful, must grow in the soil of economic, social, demographic, and allied considerations. The author recognizes this to be so, but his frequent, and sometimes lengthy, discussions of these problems are at times inadequately informed, at times indifferently integrated with the political side of the narrative. The Dreyfus Affair he describes at some length, but of its wider implications he has little to say. The essential weaknesses of French agriculture and industry and their relation to policies at home and abroad receive little attention. Above all, Mr. Thomson neglects the impact of the War of 1914, which is probably the capital fact in his whole period: the exorbitant wastage of manpower (French losses were higher than those of any other state except Serbia and Rumania), the double inflation of the war and the postwar periods, the significance of these and other facts in producing that profound *inquiétude* of the French spirit which in the political sphere manifested itself, for instance, in tenacious pacifism.

Mr. Thomson has the usual stereotypes about the greater stability of British institutions than French (this time, however, Switzerland and the United States are included in the magic circle of the unrevolutionary). Elsewhere (p. 191) he is less sure, and speaks about the French "preference for changelessness, compromise, and half-measures . . . in dealing with the social and economic changes of the inter-war years." It will be most helpful when the social sciences are able to pour some more specific meaning into a word like "stable" and then to give us some reliable tags so that we can recognize a stable society when we meet one. For good or for evil, in the fields of agriculture, industry, labor, administration, military theory—to name only a few—France showed itself distinctly conservative in recent decades.

With such an extended background, we should have welcomed, in Mr. Thomson's chapter on "The Future Outlook," a fuller discussion of the directions in which France is now moving. It is no doubt true that historians are better prophets of the past than of the future, but we miss in his analysis any suggestion of the role of the Communists, the wider political and international implications of the rebuilding of France, the problems of a weakening empire. This new France is indubitably a child of the old, but the shattering events of defeat and occupation constitute something far more than a historical parenthesis.

*Harvard University*

DONALD C. MCKAY

IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH. By *Godfrey, Lord Elton*. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1946. Pp. 544. \$5.00.)

LORD Elton, fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, secretary of the Rhodes Trust, and former Labor member of Parliament, is deeply disturbed by the ignorance of the British Empire prevalent in both Britain and the United States. In *Imperial Commonwealth* he seeks to remedy this situation; and in a brief introduction Professor Allan Nevins bestows his blessing upon the work.

Although the book is brief, it is remarkably comprehensive. The author first sketches the situation in England, 1485–1557, and asserts that basic ideas for transforming human society had been growing in that country for several centuries. To him the Magna Carta supplies proofs for this, since he believes it was secured because Englishmen were conscious "of the absolute value of personal liberty and individual initiative" (p. 12). With chapter two, "The Elizabethans," Lord Elton comes to grips with his subject, and in five hundred pages he discusses the origins, growth, governmental principles, and shifting fortunes of the British Empire and Commonwealth from the days of Queen Elizabeth to our own time. A vast amount of material is skillfully organized and clearly presented. The style is lucid, and in places Lord Elton expounds with almost evangelistic fervor on the beneficent character of the British Empire. The materialistic aspects of Britain's imperial policies are generally ignored, while the ideals of trusteeship, humanitarianism,

and political liberty receive much attention. Nor are the personal factors of the empire's history neglected. Captain John Smith, Robert Clive, Warren Hastings, and Cecil Rhodes are given a considerable amount of space. What Lord Elton has to say he says well, and much of it needs to be known and understood. But his Tory imperialism is almost blatant in its aggressiveness, and by overstating his case he defeats his purpose.

In common with most Englishmen of his school, Lord Elton has great admiration for Disraeli's conception of the British Empire. In his famous Crystal Palace speech, June, 1872, Disraeli severely censured the Liberals for having granted self-government to the colonies without reservations. He stated that Britain should have retained control over the colonial land and over colonial tariffs and imposed upon the colonies the obligation of aiding the mother country in her wars. To Lord Elton these were "long views indeed for 1872" (p. 368). Actually the statements were claptrap for electioneering purposes. The history of the British Commonwealth proves that freedom, not restrictions, forms its groundwork; in Lord Balfour's famous phrase, "Free institutions are its life-blood." Lord Elton's uncritical admiration for Disraeli leads him to aver "had there been a Disraeli at hand to advise, George the Fifth might conceivably have become a second Asoka to the Hindus of India, another Suleiman the Magnificent to the Moslems" (p. 499).

The author's generosity to his countrymen is almost without limits. He tells us that in the eighteenth century "respect for human personality was the great new public virtue which on the moral plane gave England her title to victory" (p. 91). We learn from him that the empire founded in India by Clive differed from Alexander's "in not aiming exclusively at power and wealth" (p. 424), and that the British rule in India "is superbly incorruptible and highly efficient" (p. 459). Students of the British Empire are informed that in 1899 "Chamberlain did not want the Transvaal, nor did the British government" (p. 424), "that Rhodes had been the embodiment of a selfless idea" (p. 442), that the Boer War was "singularly humane" (p. 444), and that "The conversion of the heathen had always been a dominant motive among the early colonists" (p. 455). These and other statements of a similar character are interesting revelations of a point of view; but the reader will be justified in doubting if they are based, as Lord Elton asserts, on the knowledge of "unfamiliar facts."

That a book which covers such a vast area in time and space as does *Imperial Commonwealth* should contain mistakes is not surprising. Among errors noted are that transportation to the mainland of Australia ended in 1840 (p. 257), that in 1822 Huskisson threw the British West Indian trade open to all the world (p. 271), that in 1860 Kowloon was ceded to Britain (p. 357), and that the British North American federation "was a purely Canadian project" (p. 429). More surprising is it to find that Burke did not perceive that the conception of empire current in his day must be abandoned (p. 179) and that Charles Buller's caricatures of the colonial office "contained both truth and significance" (p. 275). It

appears, indeed, painfully evident that Lord Elton is not familiar with the work done during the last twenty-five years on the history of the British Empire. These lacunae in his knowledge cause him to cite Lytton Strachey as an authority on General Gordon, to ignore the role of the Industrial Revolution in shaping Britain's imperial policy, and to omit references to books by such scholars as C. W. de Kiewiet and W. P. Morrell.

Lord Elton and Professor Nevins are well justified in lamenting the current misconceptions about the British Empire and Commonwealth, given wide publicity in our country by professional Anglophobes and hyphenated Americans. Much scholarly research remains to be done in the history of the British Empire, but this must be done by scholars willing to investigate mountains of manuscript material; and the results of these efforts must be presented without national prejudice.

*University of Wisconsin*

PAUL KNAPLUND

THE LETTERS AND PRIVATE PAPERS OF WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. Collected and edited by *Gordon N. Ray*. In four volumes. Volume III, 1852-1856. Volume IV, 1857-1863. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 695; x, 586. \$12.50 two vols., \$25.00 per set.)

THE Thackeray whose rise to triumph along with the English middle class was chronicled in Volumes I and II of this collection (*cf. American Historical Review*, LI [April, 1946], 499-501), discovered the burghers' paradise on earth during his two American journeys of 1852-1853 and 1855-1856. "Here is the future: here is the great English empire to be. . . . These & the Australian Republics will be ere long so big & mighty that Europe will be as nothing to them" (III, 181). Later, "Switzerland swarms with Americans," and, if they seemed intolerably crass to Britons, "they are only what John Bull was in 1815" (III, 295). Thackeray felt thoroughly at home in upper middle class society along the sea-board from Boston to Savannah and round to Mobile and New Orleans. Boston was like "the Society of a rich Cathedral town in England grave and decorous & very pleasant and well-read" (III, 170). "It actually rains dollars at New-York . . . money grows here . . . the universal rate of interest is 7 per cent" (III, 130). He found the professional and literary people of the exciting metropolis "better than similar people in our own Country" (III, 143). He was less happy in the interior, particularly in the south and along the Mississippi. In 1856, towards the end of his second exhausting lecture tour, and in the midst of the Crampton crisis over British recruiting in the United States for the army in the Crimea, disillusion tainted a letter written on the river-boat between Cairo and St. Louis: "this country whiggifies me. The rabble supremacy turns my gorge. The gentlemen stand aloof from public affairs. . . . I couldn't bear to live in a country at this stage in its political existence" (III, 592-93). Nonetheless he invested his American takings in Michigan Central and New York Central bonds, tried to live up to his own middle name in Anglo-



American relations, and refused to write a satirical book about the United States. In these volumes Dr. Ray has provided an abundance of rich supplementary material for J. G. Wilson's *Thackeray in the United States* (London, 1904) and L. W. Baxter's *Thackeray's Letters to an American Family* (New York, 1904).

During the last twelve years of his life, Thackeray seemed to be trying desperately to fill the vacuum created by the insanity of his wife in 1840 and by his separation from Mrs. W. H. Brookfield after 1851. He was intemperate in everything—work, movement, gregariousness, eating, drinking, sentiment towards his own daughters and those of others. He was incurably generous to the not always worthy unfortunate. He was at short intervals racked by disease, partly chronic, partly the consequences of his intemperances, and partly neurotic. He was obsessed by money. He died suddenly at fifty-two, having almost precisely achieved his ambition of leaving £20,000 in capital for his two daughters. His exacting mother outlived him, as did his wife by thirty years.

These papers throw somewhat less light than did their predecessors on Victorian England, in spite of the fact that Thackeray now consciously identified himself with a more assured middle class. This harmony comes out clearly in his notes for an undelivered speech to the Administrative Reform Association (1855), and in the candid, courageous (and barely unsuccessful) campaign which he made in 1857 for one of the two parliamentary seats of the City of Oxford (see Appendixes XVI and XIX). As in the earlier volumes, the most valuable historical material concerns the profession of letters, including the arrangements made by the better American publishers with an author like Thackeray in order to cope with the absence of copyright protection.

The editorial scholarship and book production of this work continue to command almost unqualified praise, but it might be worth while to point out that the estimates of annual incomes which Dr. Ray draws from John Bateman's *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1883) do not fit Thackeray's lifetime at all closely because of the collapse of English agriculture after 1873.

Columbia University

J. B. BREBNER

ASSIZE OF ARMS: THE DISARMAMENT OF GERMANY AND HER REARMAMENT (1919-1939). By J. H. Morgan. With a Preface by Lieut.-General Sir G. M. W. Macdonogh. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xxi, 357. \$3.50.)

ASSIZE, that *nomen aequivocum* in Anglo-Saxon law, as applied by General Morgan—an attorney general more nearly than a truly military general—would seem to mean the activities, sitting and ambulant, of the Allied Disarmament and Control Mission in Germany after 1918. Coming from the leading representative of the British group, supposed by the Germans with good reason to be the one Britisher really interested in disarmament, a report of its activities, as detailed as

possible, would have been welcome and possibly useful near the close of this war. It might have served as a warning to the makers of the next peace treaty that disarmament provisions may soon prove "largely unenforceable." Instead, Morgan's book is in the main only an out-and-out condemnation of the German army and the German people, before and after 1919. There seem to be only four notable exceptions from this wholesale condemnation, two from among the living—Professor Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster and an Adlon Hotel headwaiter—and Goethe and Heine. Like Vansittart, the disappointed diplomatist, Morgan, as the disappointed disarmer, indulges in the worst attempts at national psychology. Even more, if possible, than Vansittart does he represent himself as the expert on things German, a vaunting that can only be intended as strengthening the propagandist's credentials. However, a procession of mistakes, often elementary, spoils the effect: nearly half of the German quotations are wrong, mostly in spelling and grammar; a misquoting of "*Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen ass*" is a little grotesque in a self-proclaimed Goetheaner who in addition calls Thuringia land of the Nibelungen (p. 221).

General Morgan seems to know everyone who was something in Berlin from 1919 on. Does he? On September 15, 1919, the Control Commission presents itself to Chancellor Dr. Müller, who was however neither chancellor at the time nor doctor. He meets the semi-eternal State Secretary Paul Meissner who is actually Otto, Banker Widding who is actually Witting, General von Ofen who is really Oven. He hears guests of the Adlon greeted as "High-well-born," a term only used in written language. A book highly critical of the old army was published anonymously, according to Morgan, because its author "would certainly have been 'beaten up' if he had revealed his identity"; actually, "everyone" knew from the outset that it was written by Franz Carl Endres. As to his military history: he has the elder Moltke "nurtured" in the Gross-Lichterfelde Cadet Corps, whereas Moltke passed his cadetship in Denmark. Nothing of what Clausewitz as director of the Kriegsakademie is supposed to have done (p. 148), did he actually do. The relationship of the war ministry and the great general staff in Berlin was not "always one of complete independence" (p. 144). In order to produce a more perfect horror scene, he has German troops ravish a French town in September, 1914, with hand grenades—in fact, practically no formations were then equipped with grenades. Unquestioningly, Morgan accepts the fibs told him by German officers about the oversevere discipline applied by them, deducing without further proof that mistreatment of the rank and file was the rule, rather than the exception. In ascribing the high suicide rates in the Reichswehr to this same abuse, he does not consider that the twelve years' obligation to serve imposed by the peace treaty left many victims of frustration among the ambitious rank and file. One cannot imagine that Morgan as barrister would have presented or left unchallenged such "evidence" including a paraphrasing of some Bismarckian words (p. 265) that come close to falsification, in any other assizes than that of wartime propaganda.

The book's thesis, for which much does speak, is that the Reichswehr officers defeated "our attempts to enforce disarmament." Only *en passant* does the author mention that there was still another powerful saboteur, British diplomacy and Lord d'Abernon. Still slighter are the allusions to the contrary opinions of some of Morgan's military colleagues, and there are none to the activities and passivities of some of the lower ranks, whose "chivalrousness" and "understanding" were gratefully receipted by Ernst Roehm. The third party to the rearmament of Germany in the 1920's, Moscow, is totally absent from the gruesome panorama. Without either of these two factors this rearmament cannot be understood and should no longer be seriously, that is historically, discussed.

*Sherman, Connecticut*

ALFRED VAGTS

FROM A POLITICAL DIARY: RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE, AND AMERICA,  
1905-1945. By *Arnold D. Margolin*. (New York: Columbia University Press.  
1946. Pp. viii, 250. \$2.00.)

THE title of this book almost exactly expresses its nature; it appears to be based almost wholly on personal recollections of a long and active career, buttressed by excerpts from personal records. It is a method which yields somewhat unreliable results, especially for the earlier period, in which errors of dates and curious omissions are not infrequent. Such unity as the study presents arises not from its analysis of the development of events but from the account of the shifting, ever broadening outlook of the author.

Margolin began his political career in Russia over forty years ago as a leading member of the Union for the Achievement of Equal Rights for the Jews and the Union of Attorneys. In 1917 he was an active Trudovik, but after the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly he returned to his native Kiev and joined one of the Ukrainian parties. After the fall of Skoropadsky he was made assistant minister of foreign affairs; he represented the Ukraine at the Versailles Conference and in London, seeking to secure the support of the Allies for a Ukraine independent of Red Moscow, of Denikin, and of the Poles. Early in 1922 Margolin crossed to America, where for a few years he lived by journalism; during this period he wrote his *Jews of Eastern Europe*. Having become a citizen in 1927, he became again a practicing lawyer in 1929. The major portion of the book is devoted to his contacts with the great and near-great on the fringes of American and British diplomacy and to the steady barrage of advice which he laid down on the State Department.

The purport of this advice was that, to check future aggressions by Germany, Italy, and Japan, it was imperative for America to take the lead, in association with Britain, and possibly with France, in extending economic assistance to the Soviet Union, especially in the development of her transportation system. For his explanation of the developing international situation, Margolin relies heavily on Dallin, on publications of the State Department, on the *New York Times*, on Hoover and

Gibson, on Willkie, and above all on his *beau ideal*, Sumner Welles, whose independent espousal of Margolin's private advice to a courteous but seemingly deaf State Department was peculiarly gratifying.

As a study of the Ukraine and its position in the world, it lacks the merit of the work of the late Harold Weinstein. Yet, despite the autobiographical disjointedness of the book, there are many rewarding passages of keen insight and many *curiosa*, such as the first appearance of Manuilsky, foreign minister of the sovereign and independent Ukrainian Soviet government, as envoy accredited by the Russian Soviet government to the Ukrainian government of 1918.

Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

## American History

### LAND OF PROMISE: THE STORY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

By *Walter Havighurst*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1946. Pp. viii, 384. \$3.00.)

THE author's "Land of Promise" is the Old Northwest, whose story from Mound Builder days to the present time, is sketched in his present volume. Although no preface or introduction declares his objective, it is obvious that this is another attempt at popularizing the history of a region for the benefit of the general reader. No footnotes are inserted to mar the smooth flow of the narrative, nor is any bibliography appended at its end.

The present reviewer revolted mentally four decades ago against the teaching of certain of his graduate instructors who deplored the literary qualities of such writers as Froude and Macaulay, and throughout the succeeding years has done his feeble best in his own writings to remove the Ph.D. curse of dry-as-dustness, while retaining a full measure of scholarly exactitude. Necessarily, perhaps, literary charm and skill and scrupulous historical scholarship are not frequently encountered in a single writer; while there are plenty of good writers who are strangers to historical scholarship and plenty of careful scholars who know nothing of the literary art.

Professor Havighurst is a charming writer, whose literary skill the reviewer frankly envies; and *Land of Promise* will both entertain and inspire its readers. From the point of view of careful scholarship, however, certain reservations are necessary. The inclusive sweep of the volume is commendable, but this very quality necessarily compels a scanty treatment of many of the subjects introduced and perhaps explains, if it does not justify, the employment of numerous and too careless statements or too sweeping generalizations.

The following items will serve as illustrative of many questionable statements which have been noted. The Black Swamp was not a clearing (p. 5) nor was Vincennes ever the seat of government for the entire territory between the

Alleghanies and the Rockies (p. 10). That La Salle descended the Ohio to its falls in 1670 (pp. 31, 54) or that he then journeyed around the Great Lakes and across the portage to the Illinois River (pp. 57-58) is far from certain. Simon Kenton may have counted 1,500 buffaloes pacing in single file (p. 114) but earlier we are told that the number was 1,000 (p. 40). Major Rogers' account of his first interview with Pontiac (p. 83) is not commonly credited by present-day scholars. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton of Detroit was never a colonel, nor was he the monster which contemporary rebel opinion (substantially adopted by our author) depicted. He did not wait, on the march to Vincennes, for beavers to build their dams (p. 103); G. R. Clark could not have been a classmate of John Tyler (p. 99); and the mouth of the St. Joseph River is not in Indiana (p. 63). There is no way of knowing whether La Salle in 1679 stopped for a day's hunting on the site of the Ford River Rouge plant (p. 62), or whether young Clark refused to shoot at sitting targets (p. 99). Harrison's soldiers did not find Tecumseh's body (p. 135), nor did he as governor handle millions of dollars (p. 136).

To list further questionable statements would be idle, since enough have been cited to show that this is not a work of careful scholarship. Further, it would be misleading, since too much space devoted to such listing would tend to create the impression that the book is valueless, which would be far from true. The reviewer hopes that Professor Havighurst will devote his fine literary talent to the production of many more regional histories as entertaining and suggestive as the present book. He ventures the additional hope that the manuscripts be submitted, before publication, to the scrutiny of competent specialists, with a view to rendering them no less accurate than they are entertaining.

*Detroit Public Library*

M. M. QUAIFFÉ

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, OVERSEAS GOVERNOR OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY: A PEN PICTURE OF A MAN OF ACTION. By *Arthur S. Morton*, Sometime Professor of History, the University of Saskatchewan. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xii, 310. \$4.50.)

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the man who for forty years in the nineteenth century ruled a fur empire covering almost half of North America should hitherto never have become the subject of a comprehensive published biography. As the chief agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in America from 1820 to 1860 Sir George Simpson controlled most of what is now the Dominion of Canada as well as large areas in the present states of Washington and Oregon. It was he who presided over the actual fusion in America of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies which for decades had waged the greatest fur war in history and it was he who developed and guided the largest and most enduring trade monopoly on the North American continent. Yet his life and work, though referred to as of great importance in dozens of publications dealing with British North America in

his time, have remained mostly unknown. Even the present volume does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of his career, but aims merely "to show the man in action and to bring one who may well have been the greatest administrator which the country which is now the Dominion of Canada has seen, out from the wings of the stage of history nearer the limelight. . . ."

One of the main reasons for the obscurity from which Simpson's history has suffered has been the lack of available source material. Only in recent years did the Hudson's Bay Company begin to publish its records on a large scale or permit scholars access to its archives. Another obstacle facing any biographer of Simpson has been the dearth of personal documents. The governor was so completely devoted to the interests of his company that other matters found little place in his correspondence. A third deterrent to an adequate portrayal of Simpson's life is the necessarily humdrum character of monopolistic business, be the scale never so vast. Perhaps no other than the present author could have managed without herculean effort to extract an interesting "life" from the material available. The late Professor Morton, in the course of preparing his monumental volume, *A History of the Canadian West*, unequaled in its field, acquired the information which enabled him to produce the Simpson biography as a congenial, even if difficult, task. The marks of this painstaking and scholarly background are evident throughout the work.

*Sir George Simpson* is a thoroughly readable volume, especially for anyone who is more or less familiar with the setting. The dry facts of the fur business are kept to a minimum and the personal aspects of the central theme are stressed. But historical truth and perspective are not sacrificed. The Sir George Simpson of tradition, while being mellowed and humanized to correspond more closely with the reality, has been reduced considerably in his official stature to fit the position he actually filled—not that of the chief figure in the Hudson's Bay Company but rather that of the company's business manager in America, carrying out policies essentially initiated and modified at the head office in London. This is the historical Simpson, first, last, and always a servant of the company. Whether a comprehensive life of the man will ever be written remains to be seen. But if it should be done, the present contribution of Professor Morton will undoubtedly be found to have performed a valuable service in popularizing the subject and drawing the main lines of the foundation. The text is well documented and the source material is described at length in a classified bibliography.

*Queens College of the City of New York*

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

#### THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF JOHN AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Edited and with an Introduction by *Adrienne Koch* and *William Peden*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xxxix, 413, xxix. \$4.50.)

DESPITE fascinating personalities and real stature, the second and sixth presidents of the United States have been neglected by historians, biographers, and



scholars, particularly of generations later than their own. The vituperative attention which they received in their own day has been followed by a strange silence, although intrinsically they stand abreast of the best that the United States produced during the Revolutionary period and the early years of the Republic. They stood at the highest level as men of culture and scholarship; their importance as intellectual leaders, actually and symbolically, in their day can receive justice only through greater attention by scholars and men, generally, in the United States which they did so much to fashion. It is, therefore, a pleasure to note the appearance of *The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams*.

The editors have, by wise selection, revealed, not definitely but suggestively, the quality of the minds of the two men. They have suggested, although not in widest implication, the value of the writings of father and son as sources of an understanding of the history of the period. And the editors have been particularly wise in combining the selected materials of the two in a single volume. It is possible to see the close spiritual and intellectual relationship between John and John Quincy, even though a broader reading would be required to suggest the divergencies and the points at which John Adams represented one era and John Quincy, another and succeeding era.

In the above purposes, the editors have succeeded, but it would not be correct to assume that the volume reflects "almost the entire range of American political and social experience" from the incipient Revolutionary period to the threshold of the Civil War, as the jacket suggests that John and John Quincy Adams do. The editors have "shrewdly selected," but the immensity of the materials makes any such selection, as is here contained, perforce skeletal in nature. This volume serves best as an introduction to an important field.

The introduction by the editors contains a good historical survey relevant to the lives of the two men, and reveals competently the background of the intellectual spirit and political theories of the times. It is possible, however, to take issue with certain conclusions. For example, it is questionable that there was any "true Adams' awareness of social evil," connoting a constant concern for the lot of the miserable and depressed portion of humanity. On the contrary, it is amazing that the writings of John Quincy Adams could reflect so little disturbance over the spectacle of mass misery which surrounded him during his years in Russia. The Adamses, particularly John Quincy, arrived at their conviction of social evil through reason, a conviction of the transgression of paramount moral law embedded in history, rather than through the senses. "Social evil" was always viewed in relation to the context of the paramount nation, the most important entity in this natural order. "Internal improvements" which strengthened the United States were championed, but the attitude toward change was, in the main, Burkian. It is, moreover, possible to find in the writings of John Quincy Adams, earlier than those of the "final stages of his career," the conviction that emancipation was worth the sacrifice of the union. This point of view is expressed in his diary entries of February 24 and March 3, 1820, a quarter of a century before his death. These points may appear



minor, but they reveal the dangers of facile generalizations and conclusions. The reference on page xxvii of the introduction to "young Czar Nicholas," instead of Alexander I, likewise reveals an unfortunate degree of haste in preparation. But for all the above, the conception is good, even though there are limitations in execution.

A sound and essential part of the volume is the series of prefatory statements to important selections. They are pertinent and direct, and provide the perspective necessary for a better understanding of the materials, which are well selected and touch, although not definitively, on every facet of the intellectual quality of the two men. The reviewer would have appreciated seeing portions of John Quincy Adams' argument before the Supreme Court in *United States vs. Cinque*, and others, Africans, in which the courageous old fighter dramatically reveals his powers and his antislavery point of view. A brief portion, along with a prefatory note, of John Quincy Adams' *Dermot MacMorrough* would have served to underline his versatility. But, after all, the selective process is a difficult one, and equally valid judgments have excluded them.

One can only join with the editors in regretting that so much of the Adams papers are yet withheld from the public. It will be difficult to do justice particularly to John Quincy Adams without these materials. The materials available reveal the stature of the man, the great quality of his mind and character. The editors are to be commended for beginning the project of popularization which is so long overdue. May others be stimulated to further work.

*University of California*

GEORGE A. LIPSKY

PRINCETON, 1746-1896. By *Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker*, Bicentennial Historian, Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. 424. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Wertenbaker's history of Princeton is not only a fitting prelude to Princeton's bicentennial anniversary but a notable contribution to American cultural history, especially in the chapters dealing with the colonial period. Dean of colonial historians and editor of the *Princeton History of New Jersey*, the author has brought to his task both his intimate acquaintance with the sources of our colonial history and the pleasant combination of the historian's detachment with the affectionate interest of the family annalist. Princetonians will welcome the book as the authoritative story of their alma mater. American historians will welcome it as a worthy companion to Professor Morison's history of Harvard and Professor Pierson's forthcoming history of Yale.

Professor Wertenbaker divides the history of Princeton into five well-defined periods: first, the period of the founders, Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr, from 1746 to 1768; second, the period of John Witherspoon, 1768-1794, when the emphasis shifted from education for the ministry to preparation for civic leadership; third, a period of decline, 1794-1828; fourth, a period of revival through

alumni support, 1828-1868; and fifth, a period of transition from college to university, initiated by McCosh, 1868-1888, and consummated in 1896 on the occasion of Princeton's sesquicentennial. Though issued as a bicentennial history, the book ends with the election of Woodrow Wilson as president of Princeton, 1902.

In his concluding chapter Professor Wertenbaker relies increasingly on sources that can hardly be called primary. When he quotes anonymous letters in the *Alumni Weekly*, and passages from the scrapbook of a trustee, not only for his facts but as authorities for his judgments of men, measures, and policies, one senses a loss of the objectivity, detachment, and solid scholarship that distinguish his earlier chapters. Perhaps this is inevitable when the technique of source study is applied to the confused currents of contemporary controversy. Fluids are more elusive than fossils! But for his conscientious exploration of all available sources, for his relation of the development of Princeton to the broader movements of colonial history and the later currents of national life, for his gift in making students and professors, teachers and preachers of a bygone age come alive, for his competence as annalist and his kindliness as critic, all students of American history as well as sons of Princeton owe him a debt of gratitude.

It is to be regretted that the official bicentennial history of Princeton ends with a chapter entitled "Expansion and Inaction." Though the subtitle reads 1746-1896, even this is misleading as the history is carried down to the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1902. The sesquicentennial address of Wilson, "Princeton in the Nations Service," which brought Wilson into national prominence as an educational leader and was really responsible for his election to the presidency of Princeton six years later, is relegated to a few lines of perfunctory praise. When we recall that the "house system" at Harvard and Yale is essentially an adaptation of Wilson's plan for the quads at Princeton, and that the Harvard report on *General Education in a Free Society* owes much to the seminal thought in Wilson's educational addresses, it seems doubly regrettable that the bicentennial history should omit all mention of Princeton's educational advance in Wilson's time.

It is to be hoped that there will be in the near future a new and complete edition of this bicentennial history which will do justice to the scholarship of its author, to the progress of Princeton under Wilson and Hibben, to the contribution made by Princeton to the war effort and postwar peace planning in the series of notable conferences held during the bicentennial year under the leadership of President Dodds, and to the Princeton University Press, which is responsible for a piece of admirable bookmaking in the issue of the Princeton history.

Haverford, Pennsylvania

J. DUNCAN SPAETH

THE RANDOLPHS: THE STORY OF A VIRGINIA FAMILY. By H. J. Eckenrode. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1946. Pp. 310. \$3.50.)

IN an effort to present the story of the Randolph family in its successive generations with its unusually large quota of notable men any historian is embarrassed

by the lack of letters and papers of the founder, William of Turkey Island, and his seven sons. This volume makes no contribution in a clearer reflection from new materials of any one of the notable Randolphs, either in the colonial era or later. Neither is the delineation of these individuals sharpened by the known manuscript materials, some published and some not, that have come to the knowledge of scholars in the past decade or so.

Evidently the picture is drawn with a double purpose. Appeal to the general reader rather than to the scholar is the tone of the work. The thesis is argued that there was something in the Randolph blood and spirit that enabled its men to lead in an aristocratic society but doomed them to frustration in a democratic state, especially the vulgar democracy of the age of Jackson. In developing this thesis many general observations are made that not only historians but sociologists and psychologists will challenge.

Why should the unhappy and relatively inconsequential story of Richard and Nancy Randolph, told at such painstaking length by William Cabell Bruce in his biography of John Randolph, of Roanoke, be retold here with minute detail, out of proportion to the recital of the most significant contributions of any one of the Randolphs? Why is so much space given to George Wythe Randolph and practically none to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, whose fight around 1830 to bring about the extinction of slavery in Virginia was a really heroic effort? Why should the Peggy Eaton episode, so slightly related to the Randolph saga, be recounted again? Why should Peter Collinson, the English naturalist, friend and correspondent of many colonial Americans like John Custis and John Bartram, who shared his botanical curiosity, be described as a "traveling Englishman" and left unnamed? Why should Edmund Randolph be given the premium among the Randolphs rather than his brilliant grandfather Sir John Randolph, who was able to hold the respect of both his friends in the colonial assembly and the government in England when pressing the pleas of one in conflict with the policy of the other? Why should the century-old history of Virginia by Charles Campbell be cited as the responsible version of the famous treason passage from Patrick Henry's Stamp Act speech in spite of questions raised as to the correct version in recent years?

The chapter "Virginia of the Randolphs" has much material on the social life of eighteenth century colonial Virginia. It increases one's realization of the need for a volume on this theme and the hope that such a work, for which the time now seems ripe, may not be too long forthcoming.

*University of Richmond*

MAUDE H. WOODFIN

JAMES MONROE. By *W. P. Cresson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 577. \$5.00.)

As M. A. De Wolfe Howe tells in his introduction, William Penn Cresson died in 1932 leaving the manuscript of the present book unfinished. Several have had

a hand in bringing it to completion. It seems fruitless to guess whether the book was helped or hurt by its vicissitudes; its strength and weakness could reasonably be accounted for by the experiences and viewpoints of the original author.

To bring Monroe out of his "curiously misunderstood and shadowy" position in American history, to borrow phrasing from one of Cresson's earlier books, was no easy task. Monroe confided few of his innermost thoughts and feelings to paper, and the height of his public career, his presidency, is one of the least studied and most misunderstood periods in American history. Despite these difficulties, Cresson has made an important contribution to a better understanding of his times. The book has the added virtue of being well written and of being attractively printed and bound.

Cresson's main achievement was to construct out of well-known materials a convincing portrait of Monroe and to present a favorable but judicious estimate of his strong and weak points. Monroe was a man of many virtues: tactful, kindly, loyal, patriotic, sensible, honest, courageous, sober-minded. But these were insufficient equipment for some of his responsibilities. As a diplomat, he bungled more than once. In England he was either obtuse or negligent in appraising public opinion; in France he was badly worsted in a game of wits; in that same country his indiscreet revelations to Tom Paine brought him much embarrassment. One gets the distinct impression that Monroe was not up to playing a lone hand against shrewd opponents. More than some of his abler contemporaries, he needed to be surrounded by advisers. Fortunately for his country and for his reputation, he sought advice and he was able to distinguish between good and bad counsel. In this respect, he was a man of independent mind, and Cresson makes a good case for his contention that Monroe was no mere shadow of Jefferson.

Cresson shows marked ability in appraising men and in describing their relationships with each other. Some of his best work is his treatment of Monroe's dealings with Jackson, Paine, Hamilton, Livingston, and his close friends Jefferson and Madison.

In dealing with the general history of the United States he is less successful. Granting the need for an adequate background, the story is told with unnecessary fullness. And parts of it are told incorrectly. He makes the slave states instead of the East the aggressor in the controversy over the admission of Missouri; his discussion of the collapse of the caucus system of nominating presidents is wrong in some details and in general interpretation; and his description of the election of 1824 is at best superficial. He did not meditate on the institutions and movements of American history as much as on the thoughts and actions of individuals; he is a better biographer than historian. His temperament and his experience in the diplomatic service may explain this contrast; but it is also significant that for his background of domestic history he relied chiefly on standard secondary accounts without much use of the sources or of several important monographs. For this weakness, those who worked over the manuscript after Cresson's death must

bear part of the blame. These faults do not, however, seriously impair the validity of Cresson's portrait of Monroe. It is distinctly better than any of the previous biographies of the fifth president.

*Duke University*

CHARLES S. SYDNOR

HORACE GREELEY: PRINTER, EDITOR, CRUSADER. By *Henry Luther Stoddard*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1946. Pp. xiv, 338. \$3.50.)

MR. Stoddard has written an amiable and interesting life of a very great **American editor**. With characteristic modesty, which those who have read his earlier books will recall, Mr. Stoddard disclaims the title of either biographer or historian. What he has written, he says, "is more a tale told in his twilight years by one newspaperman of another." Accept the volume, then, as it is offered. It is uncommonly good journalism.

As such, it will be accorded due respect by the historian. Mr. Stoddard's discursive pages give a very clear portrait of the founder of the *New York Tribune*, too often remembered only for his advocacy of westward migration and because he interfered unwisely with Lincoln's prosecution of the Civil War. Mr. Stoddard has the skilled journalist's ear for a good story; that is, for the anecdote which reveals characteristics and traits. From the stories he tells emerges a vivid Greeley—brilliant, industrious, changeable, perverse, resolute, independent, profane, lonely, and unhappy.

In 1867, as Lincoln lay in his grave and hatred toward the broken South mounted, Horace Greeley was one of twenty Americans who signed the bond which released Jefferson Davis from prison. He was excoriated for doing so. The circulation of the weekly edition of the *Tribune* fell off sharply. A group of members of the Union League Club called a meeting to discuss disciplinary action against him. Greeley announced he would make no defense. He told his fellow Union Leaguers:

I do not judge you as capable of judging or even fully comprehending me. You evidently regard me as a weak sentimentalist, misled by a maudlin philosophy. I arraign you as narrow-minded blockheads who would like to be useful in a great cause but don't know how. . . . I care not how few vote with me, nor how many against me, for I know that the latter will repent in dust and ashes before three years have passed.

Greeley was born in poverty. He began life as an apprentice printer and invaded New York City in 1831 with just \$10 in his pocket. He wanted to be an editor, owned by nobody, and say what he thought. With fierce determination, without funds, he started the *New Yorker*, a weekly journal, in which he did just that. And throughout his tortured life, save for an early and brief subservience to Thurlow Weed and the Whigs of New York, Greeley was his own master. "I must breathe the free air or be stifled," he soon told the New York boss. "I do no man's bidding, but speak my own thoughts."

Greeley might have been a millionaire, but he gave away most of his *Tribune* stock and was always embarrassed for lack of funds. He might, like so many other self-made men, have reflected that he had succeeded without help from others, and thus opposed the formation of unions. But Greeley helped to organize his own printers and was the first president of the New York Printers' Union when it convened in January, 1850.

The editor of the New York *Tribune* had slight capacity for friendship, no taste for light talk, little interest in the arts. He had a weakness for fads, such as Brook Farm and other communal experiments, and thus was subjected to constant ridicule. Greeley stood for freedom; for the Four Freedoms which would be enunciated in the remote future. So he upheld woman suffrage. So he opposed slavery. And he did so with a pen which aroused the nation as few pens have done. In 1863, Edwin L. Godkin of the *Nation* wrote of him:

Mr. Greeley is self-educated and very imperfectly educated at that—has no grasp of mind, no great political insight, and has his brain crammed with half-truths and odds and ends of ideas. . . .

But he has an enthusiasm which never flags, and a faith in principles which nothing can shake, and an English style which for vigor, terseness, clearness and simplicity has never been surpassed, except by William Cobbett. . . .

Often accused of secretly yearning for public office, Greeley held it only once, and that was merely for ninety days of an unfinished congressional term. In 1872, with Grant renominated by the Republican party, Greeley accepted the nomination of the National Liberal convention. Shortly afterwards the Democratic party, which he had nearly always fought, endorsed his candidacy. Crushing defeat came in November, however, to a man already crushed in spirit.

His wife had died a few days before. "I am not dead but I wish I were," Greeley confided. "My house is desolate, my future dark, my heart is a stone."

His motive in running for the presidency had been the hope that he could help to heal the sectional wounds of the war. It is impossible not to conclude that the sorrows of his life had already unbalanced his mind.

"I stand naked before my God, the most utterly, hopelessly wretched and undone of all who ever lived," he wrote to one of his few friends on November 13, 1872. Two weeks later he died in a sanitarium.

*Washington, D. C.*

HENRY F. PRINGLE

ZACHARY TAYLOR. By *Brainerd Dyer*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 455. \$4.00.)

To the typical American the name Zachary Taylor means "Old Rough and Ready," a general in the Mexican War, and President for a brief period. The sobriquet he earned by wearing his suits and uniforms in a slovenly manner and by exhibiting a callous bravery; his generalship was the result of seniority, ex-

perience, and the absence of strong competitors; the presidency he won because strong men could not be elected and because he fitted into the pattern which the Whigs had found successful in 1840.

Following a spate of campaign biographies, Taylor slipped into a century of deserved obscurity. Only once (1892) during this period was his career restudied and then only its military aspect. In 1941 Holman Hamilton returned to the military phase of Taylor's life. In 1946 two biographies appeared, a sympathetic and favorable one (*Old Rough and Ready*, New York) by Silas Bent McKinley and Silas Bent, and the more inclusive and objective study under review. These centennial studies may momentarily resuscitate the memory of the forlorn soldier who ventured into politics, but they will scarcely reverse the verdict of a century. In fact, these two biographies merely confirm the justice of the neglect which Taylor has suffered.

Zachary Taylor's life might conveniently be organized under three headings, soldier, planter, and President. His military career began in 1808 at the age of twenty-four and lasted with only brief interruptions until January, 1849. During this period he was stationed at nearly every western and southern post and won something of a reputation at Fort Harrison and Rock River and in the Black Hawk, Seminole, and Mexican Wars. He was a road builder, a supervisor of Indians and squatters, and a constant upholder of military discipline. The author faithfully records Taylor's achievements, significant and otherwise, at Prairie du Chien, Fort Snelling, Fort Howard, Fort Towson, Baton Rouge, and other posts and camps. While Taylor emerges as a man of decision and courage, he scarcely appears as a master of strategy or even tactics. In fact, the author's account of Taylor's behavior at Buena Vista, his greatest military achievement, reminds the reader of Tolstoy's famous analysis of the insignificant part which generals play in battles.

As a farmer and planter, Taylor was moderately successful, but service in the army interfered constantly with his management of his plantations in Louisiana and Mississippi. Bad seasons, flood waters, poor managers, and low prices of cotton combined to mar what little satisfaction he might have derived from his agricultural ventures.

The author devotes about one third of the book to Taylor as candidate and President. Well-organized chapters deal with the campaign, job hunters, foreign affairs, and the slavery crisis. As a candidate Taylor wrote many and inconsistent letters; he protested his desire to shun office and then did all he could to win the nomination. He ventured the idea that a President should approve whatever Congress decides and be merely a presiding officer, a clearinghouse for national management. Then as President he occasionally set his judgment above that of Congress. He proclaimed that he would be a nonpartisan President, and then proceeded to oust Democrats and replace them with deserving Whigs. Recall that the great compromises of 1850 were formulated and debated while Taylor was in the White House. It is something of a surprise to realize that he, the President, not only had



nothing to do with these measures but actually opposed all of them except the admission of California. Perhaps the high-water mark of his personality, and possibly his presidency, was his response to a group of congressmen who came to protest against the admission of California as a free state. Stephens, Toombs, and Clingman talked of resistance and secession until the old general became so aroused that he declared if they were caught in rebellion he would hang them with less reluctance than he had hanged Mexican spies.

Author Dyer has written an excellent, almost a transcendent biography. He found and utilized judiciously numerous and varied sources and cites them with meticulous care. He organized his book clearly according to chronology and topics and presents his findings in a clear style, free from labored rhetoric and clichés. He generalizes and interprets within the limits of the evidence which he presents. He mildly and unobtrusively says a kind word now and then for his subject. The author has demonstrated craftsmanship of a high order. The publishers have given the book an attractive format and embellished it with a few revealing pictures and passable maps. It is practically free from errors, factual and typographical. In spite of these efforts by author and publisher Taylor is probably doomed to return to the obscurity from which the author has temporarily raised him.

*University of Minnesota*

EDGAR B. WESLEY

OLD ROUGH AND READY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ZACHARY TAYLOR. By *Silas Bent McKinley* and *Silas Bent*. (New York: Vanguard Press. 1946. Pp. 329. \$3.00.)

THE efforts of Messrs. McKinley and Bent to write a history of the life and times of Zachary Taylor deserve commendation, but the book falls considerably short of being a definitive biography. It is regrettable, however, that the authors of this study have failed to contribute anything that is really new. The reader can learn just as much, except for a few details, about Taylor by consulting five pages in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 349-54. Although the writers have treated fairly satisfactorily almost every phase of the actual life of "Old Rough and Ready" including his boyhood training, love for the soil, frontier experiences, military campaigns and adventures in politics, the study would have been better in quality if the authors had not frequently introduced, sometimes abruptly, non-pertinent facts, incidents, and individuals.

This characteristic fault perhaps accounts for some of the obvious historical errors: "The Articles of Confederation, [were] drawn in 1778" (p. 16). "The Continental Congress" passed the ordinances of 1784 and 1785 (p. 27). The Kentucky Resolutions were "drawn by John Breckinridge" and the Virginia Resolutions were "drawn by Jefferson" (p. 29). The New England Federalists met in Hartford "to plan the secession of New England, New York and New Jersey" (p. 60). The Rush-Bagot Treaty "regulated fisheries, and established a part of the

northwestern boundary of the United States along the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains" (p. 68). "While [John Q.] Adams was hemming and hawing over this [Governor Troup's] insubordination [in Georgia in 1826], Troup made a third treaty with the [Creek] Indians, whereby all of them were transferred" (pp. 74-75). "His [President Tyler's] first veto caused all his Cabinet to resign save Webster . . ." (p. 114). Calhoun . . . was . . . Secretary of State as Webster's successor" (p. 114). "This explosive issue [slavery], quiescent since the Missouri Compromise . . . became increasingly acute" during Tyler's administration (pp. 114-15). "Calhoun . . . was carried into the Senate chamber to hear another read his reply to Webster . . ." (p. 274; Webster spoke three days after Calhoun). "Calhoun's erratic plan [called] for two governments, each with its President, but with a single Congress . . ." (p. 274). "That bill [the Omnibus Bill of 1850] provided that Texas should be admitted as a State or States . . ." (p. 278). Abraham Lincoln was not, as implied, a member of Congress in December, 1849 (p. 266); neither was he a member in 1850 (p. 287). Daniel Webster was an able lawyer, but the statement that he was a "wealthy corporation lawyer" (p. 113) may be seriously questioned.

The authors, moreover, have failed to make adequate use of certain important source materials. Marcy, for example, is not examined with care although he was Secretary of War during Polk's administration. There is no mention of the Marcy Papers, which are in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and no evidence that they were used. Even the "Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy, 1849-1851," contributed by Thomas M. Marshall to the *American Historical Review* (XXIV [April, 1919], 444-62), is unmentioned in the bibliography and apparently was overlooked. Marcy, it is true, had developed a prejudice against Taylor, but that fact should not preclude the examination of his papers.

Inasmuch as the authors have not seen fit to preface their work with a statement of purpose or to document their evidence with footnotes they evidently intended this to be a popular biography. If so, it is written in an interesting and lucid style. A definitive work might yet be the result if a few more years could be devoted to research and to a complete revision of the book. At present Holman Hamilton's *Zachary Taylor* is the best biography of the twelfth President.

*Lehigh University*

GEORGE DEWEY HARMON

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPERS OF THE NEW YORK PRIZE COURT, 1861-1865. By *Madeline Russell Robinton*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Number 515.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. 203. \$2.75.)

ONE of the most important and interesting phases of Civil War history—and one that has until recently been almost wholly neglected—was that of the capture

and trial in prize court of ships charged with violating the blockade, carrying contraband, or being enemy property. There were in all 1,227 prize cases brought before the United States district courts sitting at Providence, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Key West, and New Orleans. The court at New York, according to Mrs. Robinton's view, was the most important of the prize courts, chiefly because it established precedents both in law and procedure which were more or less followed by other prize courts. Mrs. Robinton's monograph is a survey and gross analysis of the records of the prize cases tried in the New York court.

In her monograph the author describes two principal types of prize court papers: those found on the captured vessel and those "that reflect the process of the case through the court." The ship's papers usually consisted of the register, crew lists, shipping articles, invoices, the manifest, bills of lading, and private letters. The papers relating to the various steps in the trial were the depositions taken *in preparitoria* by the prize commissioners, evidence submitted by the claimants, reports of the commissioners and marshals, appraisal of ship and cargo, the prize commissioners' register, various court orders, and numerous other documents incidental to prize court procedure.

Most of the vessels brought into the New York prize court were charged with the violation of the blockade, though some were libeled as enemy property. While the author does not make note of the fact, many of the captures were also charged with carrying contraband goods intended for the Confederacy. Indeed the charge of carrying contraband was almost invariably coupled with the charge of violating the blockade, and the decisions of the admiralty judges treated the transportation of contraband and the violation of the blockade as if they were one offense.

Mrs. Robinton calls attention to the lack of knowledge on the part of American jurists and lawyers of the procedure and rules of international law governing the capture and condemnation of prizes. There were, however, she observes, authoritative treatises on the subject of maritime law to which the judges and prosecuting attorneys in the prize courts promptly turned. These were the works of two Americans, Justice Joseph Story and Henry Wheaton, and the writings and decisions of the British publicists and jurists, especially those of Lord Stowell and Robert Phillimore—and, one might add, the admiralty judge, Grant. The author calls attention to the fact that Story and Wheaton had enthusiastically accepted the principles of maritime law laid down in the decisions of Lord Stowell and other British admiralty judges, and she thinks that it was quite natural that "prize law as administered in the American admiralty courts . . . [was] based on the rules and decisions of the British prize courts." The reviewer would like to make the observation, however, that, while the acceptance by the American admiralty courts of the British practices might have been natural, such practices were, in fact, completely at variance with the principles of international law which the executive and diplomatic branch of the United States had upheld—against Britain—during the

very time that Stowell and Grant were rendering the decisions that Story and Wheaton accepted and which the American prize courts later adopted.

In the last chapter of her book the author makes a cursory examination of the contents of the prize court papers; and her findings indicate that these records and those of the other prize courts afford an excellent source for the further study of the effectiveness of the blockade, blockade running, the cotton embargo, and the general character of the trade between the embattled Confederacy and the world beyond the blockade. Both the legal and historical professions are greatly indebted to Mrs. Robinton for this pioneer work.

*Vanderbilt University*

FRANK L. OWSLEY

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Rudolph Von Abele*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xiii, 337. \$4.00.)

IN character and public activities Alexander Hamilton Stephens was not one of the most attractive figures in American history. In temperament and nervous organization he is a tempting subject for the followers of Sigmund Freud. Certainly he was not lacking in frustrations, of which the most agonizing was the physical frame in which nature had encased his distracted spirit. Slight of stature, shriveled in figure, hollow-chested, the mere skeleton of a man sheathed in a yellow parchment skin, his ninety pounds of nervous energy and mental intensity spent a large portion of seventy years of life in melancholic cerebration, in ferocious hatred of the human race, in self-pity, in Werther-like communings on the evils of existence and the futility of struggle. All this time the man was consumed by a burning ambition for the distinctions he scorned and the applause of the mankind he rated as far inferior to the brute creation. Despising riches he worked day and night accumulating a substantial fortune; deprecating slavery as a monstrous evil he became the largest slaveholder in his region and ultimately its Calhoun-like defender; an impassioned lover of the Federal Union, he accepted the second highest office in the Confederacy; an opponent of secession, he followed the leadership of Toombs and Howell Cobb when zero hour arrived for the great decision; an idolater of the Federal Constitution as the greatest instrument of government ever devised by man, he cast it aside in favor of another, largely of his own contriving, which formed the foundation of his new allegiance. His career in the new Southern Republic was just as erratic and destructive. He represented that theory of extreme state rights which, as most Southern scholars now believe, was more responsible than federal armies for the disaster at Appomattox. This led Stephens to oppose all the measures, such as conscription, unified command, the organization and control of armies by the central government instead of by states, the commandeering of supplies, taxation by Congress instead of by local and more or less voluntary contributions, which all governments, including the Confederacy, have found indispensable to waging war.

Jefferson Davis found his vice-president so obstructive as an official and so odious as a person, that, before the war had ended, the two men were not on speaking terms. This is not surprising when we recall that, in the last year, Stephens was generally believed to favor Georgia's secession from the Confederacy, thus carrying to its logical absurdity his cherished notions of state sovereignty. After the surrender, Stephens was the first big Southern leader to visit President Johnson and solicit pardon; in due course he appeared again in Washington as a member of the federal Senate, which he proceeded to enlighten by making speeches on the metric system and delivering eulogies on Abraham Lincoln. If we are inclined today to look upon this career as fantastic and contradictory, that was not the judgment of Stephens himself. In his mind it all fitted into a logical, philosophic pattern. "State sovereignty," "liberty under law," and other similar phrases made it an epic of consistency. Stephens set forth all this in two huge volumes, casting his discourse in the form of Platonic dialogues, a work—*Constitutional View of the Late War between the States*—which had a large circulation in its day, the royalties adding considerably to the author's despised fortune. The historical and biographical digressions sprinkled through the book still have value, but the intricate discussion of governmental questions the reunited nation has willingly neglected.

Stephens' loquacity in speeches, books, and letters—especially letters, which he wrote by the thousands, vast quantities of which have been piously preserved—form the basis, under the discriminating skill of Rudolph Von Abele, of one of the best specimens of recent biographical literature. Stephens, whatever one may think of his behavior and ideas, was an interesting character, and Mr. Von Abele has made entertaining use of his many phases, not ignoring the psychoanalytic opportunities referred to above. His writing is graceful and fluent, familiar but with no loss of dignity; his feeling for personality unflinching; his interpretation definite and sure; his attitude unimpassioned and just. So impartial is his approach, indeed, that one cannot detect, in reading his story, whether the writer's ancestral roots derive from North or South. Mr. Von Abele is only twenty-four years old and with this extremely readable volume makes a promising start as biographer and historian.

New York City

BURTON J. HENDRICK

LINCOLN'S WAR CABINET. By *Burton J. Hendrick*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1946. Pp. 482. \$5.00.)

IN *Lincoln's War Cabinet*, as one would expect from the title and from its author's flair for biography, Mr. Hendrick offers a smoothly integrated series of character sketches of the Civil War President's constitutional advisers. But—and this might not be inferred from the title alone—the book also deals with the cabinet in action, notably throughout the McClellan imbroglio and during several of the Radical onslaughts.

Mr. Hendrick devotes the major part of his space to those cabinet members who caused Lincoln the most trouble—Seward, Cameron, Stanton, Chase, and Blair. Welles and Bates, being more tractable, get relatively little attention; Smith is dismissed, deservedly, as a nonentity. McClellan, as the principal subject of one long chapter, receives extended treatment.

In his characterizations, and in his interpretations of such controversial events as the Peninsular campaign, Mr. Hendrick is fully orthodox. Seward is the able but pliant schemer who comes to bow to Lincoln's greatness, McClellan the myopic egotist who finally pushes even the patient President beyond the point of endurance, Chase the intriguer who reconciles self-righteousness and self-interest to his own satisfaction but to that of no one else. Only Stanton, whose slippery qualities are not slighted, comes off less well than he would have come off at the hands of historians fifty years ago.

Revisionists will say that Mr. Hendrick offers the traditional interpretation because he has made little use of the monographic literature of the last quarter century. They may be right, both in fact and inference, but there is also a possibility, often ignored by present-day students, that Lincoln's cabinet members and George B. McClellan were pretty much as their contemporaries described them, and that the reasonably well-informed consensus of two generations is sound. In any case, Mr. Hendrick's opinions are challenging, his narrative skillful. His may be "popular history," but if everyone who attempted to present the past for a large audience attained his level of performance praise rather than opprobrium would attach to that term, even in the most esoteric academic circles.

*Chicago Historical Society*

PAUL M. ANGLE

THE CONGRESSIONAL CAREER OF THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, 1869-1885. By *Charles Callan Tansill*, Professor of American History, Georgetown University. [The Georgetown University Studies in History, Number One.] (Washington: Georgetown University Press. 1946. Pp. 362.)

Mr. Tansill has written what amounts to a political biography of Bayard down to the time of his appointment to the state portfolio in Cleveland's first administration. He carried on in the Senate the distinguished tradition of his father, James A. Bayard, who had the unusual experience of presenting his son's credentials to the presiding officer. The younger Bayard's political background was colored by his conservative constituency and by his father's intense opposition to Lincoln's policy of "coercing" the seceded states. In June, 1861, Thomas made a speech at Dover which was to plague him in the future. In that speech he shrank from the horrors of civil war and avowed that the dissatisfied states should be permitted to depart in peace.

During his first term in the Senate, Bayard was an uncompromising opponent

of congressional reconstruction; but Radical Republicanism was riding high, and his protests were usually ineffectual. He was outraged by suggestions of racial equality, believing that it was "fraught with evil," and he stood with the South in opposing the Fifteenth Amendment, force bills, and similar legislation. He was critical of the fiscal policy of the Grant administration and exposed the ambiguity of the Resumption Act of 1875. Throughout his political career he was active in advocating the resumption of specie payments and in opposing the free coinage of silver. He enlisted in the cause for the reduction of the high tariff schedules that were inaugurated during the Civil War. He stood shoulder to shoulder with Sumner and Schurz in the successful fight to defeat Grant's proposed annexation of the Dominican Republic; and in voting for the ratification of the Treaty of Washington, which paved the way for the arbitration of the Alabama claims, he parted company with certain intimate colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle. Bayard's suggestions with reference to the presentation of the American case before the Geneva tribunal were solicited and accepted.

The senator's influence and activity extended beyond the halls of Congress, and he speedily gained national recognition. At the Democratic national convention in 1872 he opposed the adoption of the unmodified Liberal Republican platform and tried to head off the nomination of Horace Greeley; but in spite of disappointment over the outcome of the convention, he campaigned against Grant, of whom he held a very low opinion. In 1876 he was boomed for the presidential nomination by reformers and discerning citizens who were impressed by his dignified record in the Senate. Mr. Tansill devotes four chapters to the disputed election for the purpose of presenting Bayard's part in the creation of the electoral commission and his role as a member of the commission. Bayard distrusted Tilden and his political associates and made no secret of his lukewarm attitude toward the candidate of his own party. He approved of President Hayes's conciliatory policy toward the South and his opposition to the efforts of inflationists to prevent the resumption of specie payments. In spite of his consistently friendly attitude toward the South, Bayard's aspirations to the presidency in 1880 were nullified when the South failed to pay its debt to him in the Democratic convention. His last hope for the presidency was dashed by the nomination of Cleveland in 1884, who appointed him to a high position in his administration, despite a certain distrust of the leading competitor for the honor he had achieved.

Mr. Tansill's research in the large collection of Bayard papers in the family's custody and other important manuscripts inspired admiration for the subject of his book. His pages contain liberal extracts from correspondence and speeches, and the text is well fortified with footnote citations. The workmanship reflects credit on author and publisher.

*University of Minnesota*

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON



HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, HISTORIAN OF THE WEST. By *John Walton Caughey*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 422. \$5.00.)

THE late Hubert Howe Bancroft shared with many of his prominent contemporary Californians the questionable honor of a highly controversial career. Now, just twenty-eight years after his death, Dr. Caughey, professor of American history at the University of California at Los Angeles, offers a full-length biography in which he attempts to evaluate the man and his work in the light of more recent knowledge and in an atmosphere tempered by the passage of time.

The portrait that emerges, however, does not differ greatly from those of most Americans during Bancroft's own lifetime. It depicts a pushing, successful, energetic man of business, a publisher who developed a rather unexpected interest in history and literary composition. Dr. Caughey, without suppressing any of the facts, advances plausible reasons to explain Bancroft's shortcomings in historical method, his treatment of his coworkers, and his alterations of his histories and biographies (not extensive) to suit his business ends, but the interpretation does not leave the reader with a completely sympathetic impression.

Not all the material used by Dr. Caughey is new. To a considerable extent it is based on Bancroft's own writings, particularly his *Literary Industries*. The most interesting chapters, because the newest, are those on "Process of Authorship," "Marketing the Works," "Subscription Publisher," and later chapters giving recent evaluations of Bancroft's work by present-day historians, together with Dr. Caughey's account of the use of the Bancroft library, now deposited at the University of California, Berkeley, by members of the university staff and by visiting scholars.

No publisher could read of Bancroft's exploits in selling his 39-volume *History of the Pacific States* ["6,000 sets, at least 234,000 volumes and a gross return of more than \$1,000,000"] without feeling a twinge of envy and covert admiration. His success in securing paid biographies of wealthy Californians (and a few Easterners) for his seven-volume de luxe *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth* was also no mean achievement.

Yet after the adverse criticism is all in, there remains much that must be said favorably of Bancroft and his work. He brought together a collection, nowhere surpassed or even approached, of books, pamphlets, newspapers, facsimiles, and manuscripts on Pacific Coast history dating back to the Aztecs, native tribes, conquistadores, and the Russian occupation and coming down to his own day, with voluminous records of his contemporaries. Only in some of the earliest imprints of Mexico, Peru, etc., may earlier but not necessarily more important historical printings be found in Eastern libraries, notably John Carter Brown and Lenox.

Bancroft's writings, though so dull in style that few read them for pleasure, or even without effort, are first in value, even now, as reference works on Pacific Coast history from Alaska to Peru, but special periods and places have been improved by

later writers who had access to Mexican and Spanish archives. In these Bancroft's collection was lacking.

It is the intention of the University of California to improve the collection still further, although it is now several times the size of the original, and to make it the center of Pacific Coast research and original studies. This, as Dr. Caughey insists, would have greatly pleased Bancroft, who had his scholastic ideals and was devoted to the region of his adoption. Another great Western collector, Lyman W. Draper of Wisconsin, is referred to repeatedly by the author as "John."

*Washington, D. C.*

CARL L. CANNON

THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW. By *Frances Perkins*. (New York: Viking Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 408. \$3.75.)

WHITE HOUSE PHYSICIAN. By Vice-Admiral *Ross T. McIntire*, Surgeon General of the Navy. In Collaboration with George Creel. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1946. Pp. vi, 244. \$3.00.)

THE stock of material from which the history of the Roosevelt period will be written receives valuable additions in these two books. Both writers served with President Roosevelt during his entire term of office, and both wisely concern themselves with matters of their special professional competence.

The Roosevelt whom Miss Perkins knew was the President in relation to the problems of domestic economy as they developed in the early New Deal and later periods. Within this field Miss Perkins writes with authority. Not only did she serve as Secretary of Labor from 1933 to 1945 but earlier she was appointed industrial commissioner in New York State by Mr. Roosevelt as governor. The first hundred pages of the book, which deal with the pre-presidential period, are important in giving the background both of the writer and of the subject of the book. Miss Perkins was a trained social worker, and it was from that point of view that she appraised Roosevelt both as governor and as President.

Of Roosevelt the man Miss Perkins says, "He was the most complicated human being I ever knew." And yet, with all his complexities there are a few guiding lines of character and of purpose which to Miss Perkins give design to her interpretation. His method of learning and of action was social, not individual. He learned from people, by talking with them, by getting their ideas, and by trying out on others the ideas he himself had formulated. He was no closet scholar, no book-student of political or economic theory. He was no theorist or long-range planner, but a compromiser, aiming always at making something better for somebody. In her appraisal of the President Miss Perkins is not uncritical. She notes the blind spots as well as the marks of genius. Her treatment throughout is remarkably detached and objective.

The greater part of the book deals with problems of labor relations and of

social economics. On these questions Miss Perkins' views are important, for she writes about what she knows. She gives little attention to foreign affairs or to war policy but wisely concentrates upon domestic policies in which she had a share in direction. Most readers will, I think, derive from this book a favorable impression of Mr. Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor, of her astuteness in the intricacies of party politics, of her unflagging devotion to the cause of labor, and of her interest as a public servant in the job to be done rather than in the individual to do it.

Vice-Admiral McIntire served President Roosevelt as physician in the White House and also accompanied the President in the war years on his journeys of conference with Churchill and Stalin. This book gives authoritative information which only the President's physician could possess. It includes medical reports of physical examinations both from the writer's own professional records and reports of consulting specialists. In answer to the question—How well was the President?—Admiral McIntire's finding is that the President was in "excellent condition for a man of his age." Even in the last months there was no sign of organic disease, only severe, accumulative fatigue. Admiral McIntire has performed a genuine service in making this information public, and in writing, with the help of George Creel, a genial, entertaining account of one aspect of life in the White House.

*Vassar College*

C. MILDRED THOMPSON

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MAKING, 1932-1940: A STUDY IN RESPONSIBILITIES. By *Charles A. Beard*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1946. Pp. 336. \$4.00.)

THE volume under review is said to give annoyance to the followers of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. If that be true, their faith is scarcely founded on a rock, for no more objective treatment could readily be conceived. The author nowhere injects a personal opinion about where the war responsibility actually lies. He is contented with assembling widely scattered data from newspaper editorials, congressional and stump speeches, and, of course, the published writings of the late President. These latter he collates with especial care to note any divergences between the original and the version as edited by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman.

Leaders of opinion, Republican and Democratic, have once again their day in court. The prolonged discussions relating to the arms embargo, the oft-repeated pledges of Wendell Willkie and of the "Third Term Candidate" in the constitution-overthrowing campaign of 1940, are set forth with an iteration almost monotonous, but certainly no more monotonous than were the pledges of the candidates.

To the hypersensitive pro-Rooseveltian, perhaps the most annoying reminder is the subserviency of his hero to William Randolph Hearst in the campaign pledge of 1932 to abandon any holdover from the vice-presidential race of 1920,

when Roosevelt was committed in so crusaderlike a spirit to the League of Nations issue. Forget the League and all it stands for or there will be no Hearst support. Roosevelt promptly and obediently forgot. The resultant Hearst domination over foreign policy is reminiscent of the little publicized domination a generation earlier by Boss Thomas C. Platt over Roosevelt the First, when he was governor of New York.

The transition from the Hearst influence to that of Winston Churchill, so heartening to British leadership between the invasion of Poland and the fall of France, is meticulously documented, to reveal a shift in policy so imperceptibly graduated that to the very end old promises that had lost their meaning were constantly reiterated for the benefit of a pacifist electorate.

Only in an occasional footnote does the author permit himself an "I told you so." He does record, however, that as early as February, 1935, in an article for *Scribner's Magazine* on "National Politics and War," "I came to the conclusion that the Roosevelt Administration would eventually involve the United States in a war with Japan" (p. 162, n. 13). He had noted elsewhere the presidential preference for the drastic Stimson as against the moderate Hoover policy toward Manchuria in 1931, a factor of obvious significance in the eventual appointment of Stimson to the Roosevelt cabinet. Similarly, in April, 1936, the author predicted a European war "when Hitler, his technicians, and the army are ready and are reasonably sure of the prospects of success in a sudden and devastating attack, East or West" (p. 179, n. 2).

From this study in "Responsibilities," the conclusion is inescapable that words, however sincere or insincere they be, are powerless before the impact of events. For the political scientist, a corollary of peculiar savor is the modern equivalent of "Put not your trust in Princes."

*Purdue University*

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS

THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES: A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRAZILIAN CIVILIZATION. By *Gilberto Freyre*. Translated from the Portuguese of the fourth and definitive Brazilian edition by *Samuel Putnam*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. lxix, 537, xlv. \$7.50.)

MASTERS and slaves—or, better still, "Big House and Slave Quarter," the book's original title—are symbols of the civilization based on sugar culture that, founded in northwest Brazil about 1535, remained for three hundred years. The big house, with the slave quarter and the church, formed the three points of the triangle that characterized plantations, often as large as states.

But the big house, as fort, seat of government, bank, cemetery, hospital, school, house of charity, as well as home of the masters, inevitably dominated land, slave quarter, and church. And, with absolute power concentrated in the hands of the plantation owners, these *grandes senhores* became not only feudal lords but the

true lords of Brazil. Within less than a century the feudal lords had evolved, in response to the demands of their new, tropical-American setting, a big house structurally different from Portugal's model, and had begun to build up a new type of civilization with themselves as the core.

As the Portuguese heritage shrank, the influences of the Brazilian scene, of the Indian, above all of the social and cultural differences between white, European masters and black, African slaves broadened and gradually coalesced. White blood mixed with black, European culture with African. Shaped by conflict and merging, this new civilization in northwest Brazil became, says Mr. Freyre, the most stable civilization in all Central and South America.

*The Masters and the Slaves* purports to be no more than the social-historical story of the rise and significance to Brazil of this segment of civilization. Actually, its scope is world wide. Like that Chinese symbol of opposites, Yang and Yin, the big house and the slave quarter represent the powerful and the weak, the haves and have-nots everywhere. With changes of regional names and details, the book could tell the story of coffee culture in central Brazil, of cattle culture in the south, of rubber culture in the north; or the story of the United States, or of any country where masters have ruled, and men, slave or nominally free, whatever their color, have obeyed.

It is a story told many times but never like this. What gives this book distinction is not its theme, but Gilberto Freyre. Born in 1900, a product of his century and setting, he was at thirty as concerned with the destiny of Brazil as that stock figure, the hair-tearing Russian, with Russia's destiny. "It was as if everything depended on me and those of my generation," he says in a preface, "upon the manner in which we succeeded in solving age-old questions." The age-old question that rode him hardest was miscegenation.

To tell his story, he tossed overboard an ancient Brazilian custom that requires all writers, native or foreign, to reproduce, with or without credits and quotes, observations and deductions of Southey, Lery, and a dozen other early historians and writers. He steeped himself in freshly tapped material from yellowed family and church archives, letters, diaries, notebooks, inventories, his own family experience, and personal perspective. From such material, and while still young enough himself to have intact the discerning, mystical insight that years hedge with foresight and hindsight, Gilberto Freyre has caught the clear image of big house and slave quarter. At white heat, almost without discipline or order, he poured out what he saw and felt. The result is a vivid, living document, basic to any understanding of Brazil and Brazilians, and unique as a book.

There are, in my opinion, just two criticisms: In pursuit of his clear image, Gilberto Freyre makes incidental statements that belie the human race. Brazilians, he says for example, respect and admire the individual, whatever his color, politics, or creed, who rises above the crowd. Like citizens of other lands, they do—when the individual is dead. From the colonial days of Viera and the Andrades to the

empire of Dom Pedro II, to Santos-Dumont, and now to Gilberto Freyre himself, Brazilians consistently have taken potshots at rising heads.

Samuel Putnam's painstaking translation is excellent, if accuracy is the test. The florid baroque style, however, though paced and rhythmic in Brazilian Portuguese, cannot be translated literally into good modern English. World and continent minded readers, perhaps, can stand up to eight inch paragraphs, thirty to forty inch sentences, five to seven syllable words that follow each other like ships of the line on review. But thousands of intelligent Americans who should read this book with pleasure and profit, coming on sentences long enough to have a perspective, are likely to take their hats in their hands and tiptoe away.

*Grand Forks, North Dakota*

VERA KELSEY

A ESCRAVATURA: SUBSÍDIOS PARA A SUA HISTÓRIA. By *Edmundo Correia Lopes*. (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias. 1944. Pp. 208.)

THE modern slave trade, according to Häbler, began in 1441 when Antão Gonçalves, page of honor of Prince Henry the Navigator, captured a few Negroes along the coast of Guinea. The purpose was noble, to convert them to Christianity, but the temptation to enslave them was not overcome. By 1444, when a partnership from Lagos brought 235 white (Moorish) and Negro slaves to Portugal, a new period in the history of slavery had definitely begun.

During the remainder of the fifteenth century slaves were sold in Portugal. Some were purchased locally and were employed on farms or on building projects; others were shipped abroad, principally to Castile but also to northern Europe. By the second quarter of the sixteenth century there were about 10,000 Negroes in Lisbon, an estimated tenth of the population, while many others were found in the provinces, particularly in the south.

With the discovery and development of the New World, the ambit of operations of Portuguese slave traders increased tremendously. In Brazil alone, within a period of about three hundred years, from the middle of the sixteenth century until 1858, a reputed 4,500,000 slaves were introduced, largely from Portugal's African colonies. Not all were sold by Portuguese entrepreneurs, for in later years the Dutch, the English, the Spanish, and even the Americans had a share in the traffic; yet the Portuguese, despite foreign competition, were able to dominate the world market for a long time, thanks in part to their political control of African centers of supply.

Based to a large extent on documents from the Portuguese archives, the recent book by Dr. Edmundo Correia Lopes (copies of which have just reached this country) is by far the best thing we have on the Portuguese slave trade in Europe, Africa, and the New World. It is admittedly not as complete as it could have been; the author is careful to make that clear in his subtitle. But what Dr. Lopes has done has been done so well, the information he has collected is so important, that no

future work on the slave trade will be complete without making use of his study.

Dr. Lopes is now working on a volume that will deal with the role of Portugal in the suppression of the slave trade, and still another on the abolition of slavery in the Portuguese colonies. When these are completed, the learned world, judging by what the author has already achieved, will have an authoritative account of Portugal's intimate connection with Negro slavery.

*Catholic University of America*

MANOEL CARDOZO

INTELLECTUAL TRENDS IN LATIN AMERICA. [The University of Texas, Institute of Latin-American Studies, Latin-American Studies, I.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1945. Pp. 148.)

IN personnel this conference represents both banks of the Rio Grande. Three of the speakers claim Mexico as a residence and two Texas. Further geographical distribution is assured by one representative each from Brazil and Spain and five from other North American institutions outside of Texas. Eight devote their papers to Latin America as a whole, while four confine their offerings to specific countries; to Mexico, two; to Brazil and Central America, one each. About half the participants are men that we should expect to find at these conferences; the other half seem to be less well known in their respective fields, but all their contributions are specific and enlightening, both to the casual reader and to the specialist, and represent a sincere effort in constructive Pan Americanism.

Four of the diverse offerings belong in the social sciences; one each to philosophy, education, the theater, and music; three treat of specific literary themes while one, that of Professor Fernando de los Rios, fittingly and effectively summarizes the intellectual contributions of his fellow Spanish refugees throughout Latin America. Scholars of all types will appreciate his discriminating catalogue of important names and book titles—a feature that also marks the other essays.

Intellectual Latin America, as might be inferred, is based primarily on a European cultural background. This culture has been modified in specific localities by physical background, by African and native population elements, and by the course of political development. Within the last half century French, German, North American, and Iberian currents of thought have also affected literary expression. Today, however, there is a general tendency to emphasize a nationalistic spirit and equally strong reaction to the positivist philosophy that before 1900 pervaded all educational and literary effort.

Separate mention cannot be given to the individual essays. Among the more general trends one notes that there is a growing ferment in education, that poetry creates a cult as recognizable and as universal as that of the conquerors and liberators of other days, and that the theater below the Rio Grande is in a "state of slump," largely because dramatist and stage director fail to work together. Music and folklore show traces of African and pre-Columbian influence and hence favor



the writing of short stories over longer works of fiction. In Central America, however, Carlos Wyld Ospina and his fellows have produced novels that are comparable to the poetry of Rubén Darío, and in the *Os Sertões* of Euclides de Cunha, now available in English, we have a vivid picture of the Brazilian backlands. The philosophy of Mexico, as exemplified by Antonio Caso, Jose Vasconcelos, and Alfonso Reyes, gives a spiritual flavor to present-day thought in all Latin America. These are some of the intellectual offerings that merit recognition on this side of the Rio Grande. One must also mention with approval the scholarly comparisons drawn by those from the United States who discuss the social sciences.

*Newberry Library, Chicago*

ISAAC J. COX

# \* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

## General History

HISTORY AND THE READER. By *G. M. Trevelyan*. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. 27, 90 cents.)

ANNUAL BULLETIN OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE. No. XXXI, DEALING WITH THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEARS 1942 TO 1945. (London, published for the Historical Association by P. S. King and Staples, 1946, pp. 48, 1s. 7d.)

COLUMBIA DICTIONARY OF MODERN EUROPEAN LITERATURE. Edited by *Horatio Smith*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. 913, \$10.00.) "The *Dictionary* is a record and evaluation of the literary activities of Continental Europe in recent times, in terms of its representative modern literary artists and their chief books. All living writers of thirty-one countries who have attained eminence in their art are described historically and critically, as are their immediate and often closely related literary predecessors. Approximately 1,200 authors are represented, from about 1870 to the present. In round numbers, the *Dictionary* includes 200 French authors, 150 German, 100 Russian, 100 Italian, 100 Spanish, 50 Polish, and 40 Czechoslovakian."

ANGLO-AMERICAN LEGAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES: AN ANNOTATED GUIDE. By *William L. Friend*, Law Library, Library of Congress. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. xii, 166.) This volume was prepared for the use of the legal profession. It is to be hoped they will find it and use it, for it is a model of its kind. The introduction is a scholarly account of the beginnings and development of legal bibliography.

INTRODUCTION TO CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION IN THE WEST: A SOURCE BOOK PREPARED BY THE CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION STAFF OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. Volume II. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. 1196, \$5.00.) "Selections from documents and writings illuminating European history, from the time of Edmund Burke and Goethe up to the United Nations."

THE PIONEER PERIOD OF EUROPEAN RAILROADS. A Tribute to Mr. Thomas W. Streeter. [Kress Library of Business and Economics, Publication No. 3.] (Boston, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1946, pp. vi, 71, 50 cents.) This brochure contains a brief sketch by Professor Arthur L. Dunham, of the University of Michigan, of the pioneer period of railroads in England, France, and the United States. The rest, some fifty-five pages, is a bibliography of material in the Streeter gift. All items deal with early railroad history in Europe.

THE UNDYING PAST AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By *Christopher Bush Coleman*. (Indianapolis, State Library and Historical Board and Indiana Historical Society, 1946, pp. 152, \$1.00.) Published in an edition of only five hundred, this volume of selected addresses makes a suitable tribute to the late Christopher Coleman. The addresses illustrate the wide range of his interests and scholarship and his ability to put his thought in limpid English. The volume is fittingly closed by a memoir on Dr. Coleman's life and work by Mr. Anton Scherrer. Dr. Coleman's death was reported in the *American Historical Review*, L (October, 1944), 208.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK. Volume 48, 5707 (1946-47). Prepared by the Staff of the American Jewish Committee, under the direction of Harry Schneiderman and Julius B. Maller, Editors, and Morris Fine, Associate Editor. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946, pp. xii, 691, \$3.00.) This volume follows a form similar to that of its predecessors. The principal feature is a 400-page "Review of the Year," a report on the world Jewish scene.

TRANSYLVANIA: A KEY-PROBLEM. By *R. W. Seton-Watson*. (Oxford, printed for the author by Classic Press, 1943, pp. 20.)

THE LEAGUE HANDS OVER. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. 100, 50 cents.) "This publication marks the transition from the League of Nations to the United Nations. It was prepared by the League with two main purposes in view: first, to show what is to become of the League's property and functions, and, second, to make available the judgments passed by delegates to the last Assembly on the League's record in international affairs."

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY: GROWTH OF A POLICY. An informal summary record of the official declarations and proposals relating to the international control of atomic energy made between August 6, 1945, and October 15, 1946. [Department of State Publication 2702.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946, pp. xvii, 281, 45 cents.)

UNITED STATES AND ITALY, 1936-1946: DOCUMENTARY RECORD. [Department of State Publication 2669, European Series 17.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946, pp. x, 236, 65 cents.)

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*T. Robert S. Broughton*

PREHISTORIC BRITAIN. By *Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes*. BRITAIN B.C. and BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS. By *S. E. Winbolt*. (New York, Penguin Books,

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

1943, 1945, 1945, pp. 134, 160, 144, 35 cents each.) These small books are alike in being unpretentious, well-planned, bibliographically up-to-date, and more adequately illustrated, both with plates and diagrams, than one would expect. The reader does not often receive so much value for his money. *Prehistoric Britain* is, to the reviewer's mind, the most successful. Its authors have not only set forth with unusual clarity "the briefest chronicle of the way he [prehistoric man] went in the small but never unimportant corner of the world that we have come to know as the British Isles" but they have made the story both exciting and relevant for the general reader. This is partly the result of excellent preliminary and concluding remarks, carefully chosen illustrations, and frequent summary paragraphs, but it is mainly the result of skillful writing based on a sound grasp not only of the subject but of its reasonable implications. This book is almost an ideal introduction to its field for the general student and may be so recommended without reservation. *Britain B.C.* is more detailed, less interesting, and probably somewhat confusing for the average reader. The bibliography should include the dates of publication for the volumes there listed. *Britain under the Romans* suffers by comparison with the work of either Haverfield or Collingwood, upon which it is extensively based, despite careful planning and a rather elaborate equipment of tables and diagrams. The author has included in both these books helpful lists, particularly for British readers, of available museum materials.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

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## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE EPISTLES OF ST. CLEMENT OF ROME AND ST. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH. Newly translated and annotated by *James A. Kleist*, Professor of Classical Languages, St. Louis University. [Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation, No. 1.] (Westminster, Md., Newman Bookshop, 1946, pp. ix, 162, \$2.50.) This little volume opens a new series of translations of the fathers of the church edited by Professors J. Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe of the faculty of sacred theology at the Catholic University of America. The new series thus runs parallel with a similar project also under Catholic auspices, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, under the editorship of Dr. Ludwig Schopp of the Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Company, New York, which was announced about two years ago. New English translations of the fathers, provided they are based on critical texts and are done by scholars competent in both philology and theology, are welcome to historians. The great collections like the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* and *Post-Nicene Fathers* are now somewhat obsolete, representing as they do the state of scholarship in the last half of the nineteenth century, and have been replaced only partially by more recent translations, appearing in widely separated places and under various auspices. Professor Kleist, an unusually competent scholar in the field of Koine Greek, has given us a translation, based on the critical text of Funk-Bihlmeyer (Tübingen, 1924), which is distinguished for its accuracy. A new translation of the Apostolic Fathers naturally invites comparison with the version of Kirsopp Lake in the Loeb Classical Library. After checking the two versions in considerable detail, it seems to the reviewer that Lake's rendering is more felicitous in English phraseology but must yield occasionally to Kleist's in exactness and precision. The copious theological and philological notes, which assume the proportions of a commentary (pp. 103-46), explain or attempt to justify the rendering chosen for obscure and difficult passages and add much to the value of the book. The reviewer regrets that the editors did not see fit to include all the Apostolic Fathers in one volume. He believes, furthermore, that the introduction might well have contained a brief history of the Greek text and a discussion of the merits and weaknesses of previous versions, at least those in English. The book is clearly and accurately printed in an attractive format and has a good index.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND BRITISH HISTORIANS. Being the thirteenth Lecture on the David Murray Foundation in the University of Glasgow delivered on February 20th, 1946, by *David Douglas*, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Leeds. [Glasgow University Publications, LXVII.] (Glasgow, Jackson, 1946, pp. 40, 3s.)

THE REGISTER OF BRIEVES AS CONTAINED IN THE AYR MS., THE BUTE MS., AND QUONIAM ATTACHIAMENTA. Edited by *The Rt. Hon. Lord Cooper*, Lord Justice-Clerk. (Edinburgh, printed for the Stair Society by J. Skinner, 1946, pp. ix, 354.) The present volume of the Stair Society publications contains two different items. The first is a collection of styles used for briefs of various types in the Middle Ages extending from about the end of the war of independence down to the fifteenth century. It is an exceedingly interesting collection as it opens up many new facets of Scottish legal development. At the same time it provides a sound basis for comparing medieval Scots with medieval English law. Lord Cooper in editing the

collection has taken no little pains to bring out the differences and similarities between the two legal systems. While the Ayr MS. briefs are printed *in extenso* with an English summary, the others are printed only where they are new, or different from the Ayr briefs. They contain not only most of the writs known to English law but have a number of others which help to give an increased understanding of the development of Scottish law in what is perhaps that law's darkest age. The second part of the volume is taken up with Thomas Thomson's "Memorial on Old Extent" edited by J. D. Mackie. This was a document written to settle the question of an early nineteenth century dispute over electoral rights. The document is of very real value as an investigation of the question not only of voting in Scotland before 1832 but also of matters such as government finance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

W. STANFORD REID

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 3. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D. C., of Harvard University by *Robert P. Blake, Wilhelm Koehler, Paul J. Sachs*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946, pp. 224, plates, \$7.50.) This handsome and profusely illustrated volume is designed primarily for the historians of art, 258 illustrations accompanying its 224 pages of text, and three of the four articles in the book being essentially in the field of art history. An eight-page paper by Milton V. Anastos on "The Alexandrian Origin of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes" refutes the theory of Gelzer and Strzygowski that Cosmas wrote at Mount Sinai, and proves from internal evidence that the *Topography* was composed at Alexandria. The rest of the volume is devoted to three articles of an essentially artistic interest. In "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks," Ernst Kitzinger studies in detail the figures in the field and on the border of this tapestry now at Dumbarton Oaks and concludes that, while many of the motifs were Sassanian in origin, and while the tapestry was undoubtedly influenced by the Antinoë silks, the tapestry itself dates from the sixth century and "however many exotic elements went into its making, the place of manufacture was certainly Egypt." A second paper by Kitzinger on "A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi" examines anew the data on the excavations at this Yugoslav site at the confluence of the Cerna and Vardar rivers, presenting in a synthetic whole the previously scattered materials. Detailed analysis of the data on the various buildings enables Kitzinger to conclude that the majority of them date from the fifth century, and reveals that the present basilica in the so-called "Synagogue group" must have been built on the shell of an earlier building which was not a church and may well have been a synagogue. These two articles account for 154 pages of the text and 216 illustrations. The remaining 61 pages and 41 photographs are devoted to a paper by Herbert Bloch on "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages." Bloch's article will probably be of the greatest interest to general historians of any of the papers in the volume. Although largely a study in art history and in the Byzantine and Germanic influences on the art of Monte Cassino, this paper considers at some length the political relations between Monte Cassino and the Byzantine and German emperors. Byzantine influence on Monte Cassino began in 883 and was dominant both politically and culturally until the Italian expedition of Emperor Henry II in 1122. In the period of German hegemony which followed this expedition, Monte Cassino kept up friendly relations with both emperors and was the recipient of gifts and favors from both. At the time of the schism of 1054, Monte Cassino managed to retain the good favor of both parties, receiving a gift from Constantine Monomachus which was delivered by Cardinal Humbert himself on his way back from Constantinople. Under Desiderius, who allied with the Normans and arranged the Norman-



papal agreement of 1059, the abbey continued to maintain open relations with Constantinople, Byzantine artists being employed by Desiderius in the construction of his new basilica, which he dedicated in 1071. At this time there developed a veritable school of Italian artists strongly influenced by the Byzantine. The close relationship with Constantinople continued; as late as 1112 Abbot Girard acted as intermediary between the pope and Alexius Comnenus when the latter proposed making himself emperor of the West in place of Henry V, a plan which seems to have been favored by the abbot and seriously considered by the pope. In support of his statements, Bloch carefully studies several works of art which show German or Byzantine influences: a Gospel presented to the abbey by Henry II, an ivory casket and a silver reliquary of the time of Desiderius, and manuscripts. The sections on art are much more thorough and more clearly presented than are those on politics, which tend to become confused and confusing at times. This is a beautiful volume which should delight art historians and should prove informative to anyone interested in the cultural relations of East and West.

JOHN L. LAMONTE

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## Modern European History

## BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

*Francis H. Herrick*

- ADVENTURES BY SEA OF EDWARD COXERE: A RELATION OF THE SEVERAL ADVENTURES BY SEA WITH THE DANGERS, DIFFICULTIES, AND HARDSHIPS I MET FOR SEVERAL YEARS, AS ALSO THE DELIVERANCES AND ESCAPES THROUGH THEM FOR WHICH I HAVE CAUSE TO GIVE THE GLORY TO GOD FOR EVER. Edited by *E. H. W. Meyerstein*. Foreword by H. M. Tomlinson. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. xxxviii, 190, \$2.50.)
- SHORT JOURNEY. By *E. L. Woodward*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. v, 243, \$3.00.) This is an urbane and charming book, which will delight Mr. Woodward's fellow historians. Were it merely the autobiography of an Oxford don, it would be richly rewarding for its shrewd and witty comments on academic life in Britain and on the great and the lesser scholars who have crossed the author's path as teachers or colleagues. But Mr. Woodward's book is more than an autobiography; it is an intellectual history of our time, written by a sensitive and civilized man in an insensitive and revolutionary age. Men and women about fifty will particularly enjoy

this little volume for its nostalgic appeal. But three chapters in particular—"The Lost Generation," "History," and "The Foolish Years 1933-9"—contain lessons and warnings for all. Few who make the acquaintance of *Short Journey* will fail to return to its pages from time to time, for it is a companionable book.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE

BEVIN OF BRITAIN. By *Trevor Evans*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1946, pp. 282, \$3.00.) This is the first book devoted to a biography of Ernest Bevin. His is a success story spectacular even among the biographies of Great Britain's present Labor ministers. The poor village boy of Winsford, on Exmoor, orphaned at six and without schooling after eleven, has risen to be the creator and leader of one of Britain's largest trade unions, the Transport and General Workers', and a key figure, in many respects second only to the prime minister in importance, in both the Churchill (coalition) and Attlee governments. Trevor Evans' sketch of his career is the breezy, loose-knit work of a journalist, written with a not uncritical enthusiasm for its subject and a cheerful imprecision over many dates and details. It is best on Bevin's brief youth, his young manhood in Bristol as driver on a mineral-water round and as union organizer, and, in an impressionistic way, on his record as Minister of Labor, 1940-45. It is disappointing in its failure to give any real account of the steps by which Bevin engineered the amalgamations which produced his union in 1920, or any precise picture of his work as its general secretary and as one of the leaders of the Trades Union Congress. Nor, in spite of the frequent quotations from his speeches, does any very clear picture of the growth of Bevin's character emerge. The work has value for the moment, but does not relieve some future historian of the task of producing a full-length and scholarly biography of a very remarkable man whose career is bound up with many of the things most characteristic of British life in the twentieth century.

C. L. MOWAT

LOYALIST NARRATIVES FROM UPPER CANADA. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by *James J. Talman*. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXVII.] (Toronto, the Society, 1946, pp. lxxv, 411.) With this volume, Professor Talman brings to a conclusion a project which was begun in 1859 under the auspices of the Canadian government but abandoned six years later. The editor has combined many of the narratives collected at that time with those which his own research has unearthed. These narratives, twenty-five in all, consist of memorandums, letters, journals, reminiscences, and newspaper obituaries written by loyalists or their immediate descendants. In addition, he has printed in an appendix ten representative memorials presented by loyalists to the British commissioners on loyalist claims. The narratives vary greatly in length and, it must be said, in significance and quality. At their best, they deal in an interesting manner with the task of frontier settlement—a task which the relatively humble loyalists from the American back country found neither novel nor wholly uncongenial. The women excel the men in describing the obvious details of daily life; the men were more likely to write of business, political, or military matters. The narratives have been painstakingly edited and are preceded by a historical introduction, analyzing the reasons for loyalism, describing who the loyalists were and their number and the government's treatment of them after their arrival in the Canadian province. The format, etc., maintains the very high standards of the Champlain Society.

CHILTON WILLIAMSON

CENTENAIRE DE L'HISTOIRE DU CANADA DE FRANÇOIS-XAVIER GARNEAU. Deuxième semaine d'histoire à l'Université de Montréal, 23-27 avril 1945. (Montreal, Société historique de Montréal, 1945, pp. 460, \$3.00.)

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FRANCE

*J. Salwyn Schapiro*

LES CONSTRUCTEURS DE LA FRANCE D'OUTRE-MER. Par *Robert Delavignette*, Gouverneur des colonies, Directeur honoraire de l'Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer, et *Ch.-André Julien*, Professeur à l'Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer, Secrétaire général de la Revue historique. (Paris, Editions Corrêa, 1946, pp. 525, 186 fr.) These selections from the writings of twelve French empire builders are dedicated appropriately to the late Félix Eboué, France's first black governor general. In a foreword by Delavignette and in critical introductions to each group of selections the scholarship of Julien and the progressive record of Delavignette in colonial administration account for a refreshing freedom from the official complacency and reticence so common in French works in this field. Colbert, Bugeaud, and Lyautey are handled rather severely by Julien, who also introduces the writings of Champlain, Richelieu, Dupleix, Ferry, and Galliéni. Delavignette is responsible for commentaries on Faidherbe, Brazza, Pavie, and Van Vollenhoven. The materials are generally well chosen, although nearly all are taken from printed sources. An exception is the hitherto unpublished address by Richelieu on commercial and naval policy at the Assembly of Notables in 1627. The editors include Galliéni's summary of his principles of pacification and colonization, so essential for an understanding of later French methods. They also provide bibliographies of the printed works of each author. Professor Julien rightly emphasizes the economic arguments for imperialism advanced by Ferry, although he does not show, as Thomas F. Power has done, that Ferry adopted them only after his first ministry. Factual errors are infrequent, but Lyautey's Moroccan career began in 1903, not 1907; and the riot of February 6 occurred in 1934, not 1935. Julien points out Lyautey's dislike of republicanism and approval of fascism. The impression is conveyed that if Lyautey had lived until 1940 he would have supported the Vichy government. It is only fair to note that, as a Lorrainer and a patriot, Lyautey's choice might well have been for the Free French. But one must welcome the critical approach to these *constructeurs* by men of prominence in the Fourth Republic. The editors expect the volume to be used in French universities, where it should help to create an understanding of the mistakes as well as the successes of the past.

CARL VINCENT CONFER

THE ABBE EDGEWORTH (1745-1807). By *M. V. Woodgate*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1946, pp. xii, 202, \$2.50.) This slender volume possesses an intrinsic worth that is independent of its author; and in any case different from what she had intended it to have. Miss Woodgate obviously set herself to the devout task of rescuing from the oblivion into which he had fallen a dauntless priest who gave spiritual ministrations to Louis XVI as the condemned ruler mounted the scaffold and who shortly thereafter journeyed into exile as chaplain to the future Louis XVIII and died with heroic stoicism in the snows and cold of Russia. Doubtless her intention was reverent, but probably too reverent. Her serene impartiality in accepting the prejudices of Abbé



Edgeworth, his social snobbery, and his rigid ignorance, together with his personal courage and his loyalty to the royal family, hampers her effort to commend him to the reader. She has reconstructed someone more like a plaster saint lamenting an errant generation than the passionate partisan that his letters show him to be. Since the two chief sources of information about him—a slim biography by his cousin and an almost contemporary collection of letters—are both virtually inaccessible to the general reader, the author drew heavily upon them, particularly the letters, for her own work. And very sensibly, too, for the letters are most valuable. They vividly reveal the outraged sentiments of intransigent clerics and royalists like the abbé, who yet were able to pity and sorrow for, as well as to denounce or plot against, a revolutionary nation that persevered in flouting their own sentiments about throne and altar. Present-day enthusiasts of 1789 may well be reminded of these defenders of the old order who dreaded or hated or despised the Revolution and the Revolutionists, and prayed and schemed against it, or both, as did the abbé. But if it is salutary to be reminded of a figure like him, who believed, and as early in the Revolution as October, 1789, that “if things go on for a few years longer, the French will have nothing remaining of what they formerly were, but their language and their name,” it is not less good to remind an author like Miss Woodgate that neither the abbé in particular, nor the church and the monarchy in general, had a full monopoly on justice and charity, as her study consistently implies.

LEO GERSHOY

The first issue of *Cahiers d'Histoire de la Révolution Française* appeared in 1947. Edited by B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch and Philippe Sagnac and published by Editions de la Maison Française (610 Fifth Avenue, New York), it initiates a series which will deal with the various aspects of the French Revolution and which will be published in this country. Among the notable contributors are Mirkine-Guetzévitch, Sagnac, Gilbert Chinard, and Paul Schrecker.

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*B. H. Wabeke*

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

DENMARK AND SLESVIG (1848-1864), WITH A COLLECTION OF ILLUSTRATIVE LETTERS BY DANIEL BRUHN, INCLUDING HIS LETTERS FROM

CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA (1864-1872). By *Waldemar Westergaard*, University of California, Los Angeles. (Copenhagen, Nyt Nordisk, 1946, pp. 143, 7.50 kr.) This little volume consists of a historical introduction (76 pp.) and a collection of letters written by Jørgen Daniel Bruhn. Bruhn was the son of a royal inspector of forests at Skoofryd on the island of Zealand, descended from a good Danish family. He served in the Danish army in 1864, first as an officer candidate, later as a second lieutenant and aide-de-camp to Major General Wilster. One group of the letters was written to his parents in that year from the fighting front and from the encampment at Hald. The others were written from various places in California and Nevada, where Bruhn, apparently to earn the money with which to repay certain debts, worked as a horse wrangler and silver miner. The letters were discovered in 1939 by the distinguished Danish-American historian, Dr. Westergaard, in the possession of Bruhn's daughter when he lived at her house in Copenhagen. They were first published in 1940, after the occupation and after Dr. Westergaard had returned to the United States, in *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift*. In 1946 they appeared in English translation, together with the historical introduction on the Slesvig-Holstein problem. Dr. Westergaard's introduction does not claim to be based on original research. Nevertheless it may be highly recommended. It is written by a very competent student of this complicated problem about which Palmerston is supposed to have said that it was understood by but two Englishmen—a clerk in the foreign office who had died and Palmerston himself who had forgotten. Furthermore, this treatise is brief enough to be quickly read yet long enough to contain all that is significant. Bismarck's role in the negotiations with the Glücksburgs culminating in the Treaty of London, May 8, 1852, is properly emphasized to illumine the part he played in 1864. Bruhn's letters are interesting, not for any light they throw upon the *haute politique* of the period, but because they describe with great fidelity the life of the Danish soldier and the American frontiersman in the Far West. Bruhn, even when very young, was a good observer, a man of sterling character with both feet on the ground. He was very Danish in his quiet courage, his willingness to do any kind of honest work, and his thriftiness. He would have made a good American, too, and would probably have been as moderately successful here as he became in Denmark upon his return. The American letters will prove most valuable to us in this country, especially the one dated May 17, 1872, where with some scorn for class consciousness he describes how leaders of Western mining enterprises did manual labor alongside the men they employed. This book bears the marks of having been manufactured in Denmark. There are numerous misspellings and typographical errors that can be attributed to unfamiliarity of typesetters with the English language. Dr. Westergaard's translation and his notes are above criticism. BRYN J. HOVDE

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

GERMAN YOUTH: BOND OR FREE. By Howard Becker, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Sometime Member of the Office of Strategic Services, U.S.A. [International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. xiii, 286, \$4.00.)

REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES EDUCATION MISSION TO GERMANY.

[Department of State Publication 2664, European Series 16.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946, pp. xiv, 50, 15 cents.)

HISTOIRE DE L'AUTRICHE. Par Jacques Droz, Agrégé de l'Université. ["Que sais-je?" 222.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1946, pp. 126.) This small volume of the get-your-culture-all-wrapped-up-in-a-neat-little-bundle type is astonishingly good. It does not pretend to contribute a single new fact or idea, and it is based only on secondary materials, but it offers, in easy, clear language, a first-class unbiased outline of events and trends in the history of Austria. After a fleeting summary of the period from 996 to 1740 there follow really good short chapters on Marie Theresa, Joseph II, Francis I, Francis Joseph, and the Republic. The author believes that the future peace of Europe is, in large measure, dependent on the creation of a free Austria as part of a Danubian federation which can act as an intermediary between East and West and as a bulwark against the possible future aggression of either Germany or the Soviet Union.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*

DANTE. By *Robert L. John*. (Vienna, Springer, 1946, pp. 280.) This book, printed in Austria the year after Vienna's liberation, has been published with the permission of the archbishop of the Austrian capital. As a biography of the great Dante Alighieri, it is a work notable for its scientific and free language. It is not less remarkable for the difficulties which the author met and overcame. According to the preface Dr. John wrote the last chapters of the Dante biography in the monastery of the Cistercian Order in Budapest while that Danubian city was literally under a rain of Russian bombs. Dr. John lost a card-index, but his work suffered no damage in its quality. With remarkable audacity the author pictures and explains the great Italian not as a faithful adherent of the medieval church but as a sharp critic of popes and princes of the church. That Dante fought for the dualism of empire and church, seeing in both of them divine institutions is nothing new; but Dr. John proves, one might think successfully, that Dante as a secret adherent of the Knights Templars visualized the ideal church as a "church spiritual," free of earthly riches and earthly longings. Dante is, according to Dr. John, not a secret heretic or even protestant of the Waldensian faith, as some have thought, but an advocate of reform, an enemy of the "Constantinian donation" whereby the pope became a temporal ruler; the ideal church, the church spiritual, is symbolized by Beatrice, who thus represents not religion, faith, or Christian love, but a very distinct conception of the church—Dante's conception. Dante's mind is explained as completely influenced by the teachings of the mystic Gioacchino di Fiore (d. 1202), who expected—like so many of his contemporaries and predecessors—an ever approaching end of the world, an "*Untergang des Abendlandes*" as visualized by medieval intellects. This cataclysm was to bring about the fall of the church as power temporal before the church eternal and spiritual. Dr. John does not regard his great poet as a heretic but simply as a sharp, and very often justly sharp,

critic of the church. The very interesting book is divided into twenty-eight chapters. Three deal with Dante's life, the others especially with the *Divina Commedia*. A very elaborate index of names and subjects assists the reader in following the author through the difficult paths of medieval and gnostic thinking.

ROBERT RIE

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## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*

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VOENNYE USTAVY PETRA VELIKOGO. SBORNIK DOKUMENTOV [military statutes of Peter the Great; a collection of documents]. (Moscow, Lenin Library, 1946, pp. 80, 10 r.) A most valuable contribution to the history of the military reform in eighteenth century Russia. It presents unpublished source material from the manuscript division of the All-Union Lenin Library in Moscow, including the marginal notes and additions made by Peter the Great to the military statute of 1714. Notable is the lengthy introductory article by P. P. Epifanov.

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## Near Eastern and Indian History

Sidney Glazer

PALESTINE—PROBLEM AND PROMISE. By Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass, Daniel Creamer. (Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1946, pp. 675, \$5.00.) The propaganda pronouncements, the conflicting appeals, the claims and counterclaims

that issue forth from interested parties concerning the Palestine problem are confusing even to the most astute political observer of international affairs. For such persons a clear statement of the basic issues involved in the dispute was needed, based on substantiated fact and devoid of generality or bombast. To meet this need the American Palestine Institute appointed Robert Nathan to conduct a scientific survey of the "potentialities for economic development in Palestine." His past experience as deputy director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, as chairman of the War Planning Board, and as director of the national income division of the Department of Commerce, made him an admirable choice for this task of setting forth an objective statement of the present and future outlook of the Jewish national homeland. With him were associated Daniel Creamer and Oscar Gass, economists with records of service in the American government. Several years of exhaustive research in Palestine, Europe, and the United States followed. They analyzed unpublished surveys and reports, consulted officials of the British and American governments, and met with leaders of the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine. The results of their study are contained in *Palestine, Problem and Promise*, an excellent economic survey of encyclopedic proportions with this as their guiding principle: "In the preparation of this study, we have avoided any semblance of drawing up a blueprint for Palestinian development. . . . It is to the general evaluation of economic possibilities that we have addressed ourselves. We have attempted to contribute to the clarification of a group of issues which are inherently extremely difficult and in which judgment is most subject to distortion by strong emotional predilections."

ALBERT G. SILVERMAN

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E. H. Pritchard

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

## GENERAL

LES FRANÇAIS EN AMERIQUE PENDANT LA PREMIERE MOITIE DU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIECLE: TEXTES DES VOYAGES DE GONNEVILLE VERRAZANO, J. CARTIER ET ROBERVAL. Edités par *Charles-André Julien, René Herval, et Théodore Beauchesne*. [Colonies et empires: Collection internationale de documentation coloniale. Deuxième série: Les classiques de la colonization, I.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1946, pp. 223, 180 fr.) This volume undertakes to re-edit completely the narratives of the earliest French expeditions to the "new lands" of America. The first text relates in full the voyage of Paulmier de Gonneville to Brazil in 1503. It reveals particularly the system adopted by the French in taking possession of countries, and their relations with the natives. The second text gives the first complete French translation of Verrazano's letter relating the story of his expedition of 1524, from the *Cellere Codex* of Rome, discovered in 1909 by Alessandro Bacchiani and published by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society in 1910. This is the most interesting contribution in the book; but unfortunately the translator and annotator, Mr. Herval, neglected to reproduce the variants provided by the texts of the *Magliabechian* of Florence, of the Academy of Cimento, and of Ramusio, variants to be found in the American edition which add important information to the Rome version. In third place come the accounts of the three voyages of Cartier: in 1524, 1534-35, and 1541-42; followed by the narrative of Roberval's expedition in 1542-43. As to the first two voyages of Cartier, the text reproduces that of Biggar in *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, with its interpolations marked by asterisks or placed between brackets; but the annotator, Mr. Beauchesne, neglected to indicate the meaning of the asterisks and brackets. Further, he took most of his notes from Biggar and Ganong without verifying them, so that he perpetuated several of the errors and misinterpretations they had

made. As to the texts of the last voyage of Cartier and that of Roberval, they are borrowed from the Quebec Historical Society edition. In short, although this volume will serve to revive texts which have become rare, it is neither complete nor definitive in the eyes of the specialist. In his introduction, Mr. Julien disposes rather summarily of certain claims of the French of having been among the first to discover the coasts of America. He does not seem to be acquainted with the important letter of Catherine de' Medici of November, 1565, on this subject.

GUSTAVE LANCTOR

SELECTED DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONS AND THE FIRST CONFERENCES OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD AND THEIR GROWTH UNTIL 1860. Edited by *I. O. Nothstein*. Volume II. [Augustana Historical Society Publications, Volume XI.] (Rock Island, Ill., the Society, 1946, pp. 167.)

THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE IN AMERICA. By *George Hedley*. (New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. x, 177, \$2.00.) A series of chapel talks presenting simply the approach or point of view of the various Christian churches after presenting the Near Eastern (Hebrew) origins and orthodox background. The author seeks to show the changes that have come about in each sect and its contributions to American civilization.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SECRET SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Fergus MacDonald, C.P.* Edited by *Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D.* [United States Catholic Historical Society, Monograph Series XXII.] (New York, the Society, 1946, pp. 220.) This little volume surveys the Catholic hierarchy's efforts, 1794-1895, to fulfill its mission of moral guidance with respect to specific secret societies. More than half the study is devoted to the years 1880-1895. The reasons for opposition to the societies were substantially the same as those of Protestant bodies: the use of oaths to secure secrecy plus, in some instances, obedience to hidden and uncontrolled command; and the threat that lodge rituals might become watered down or positively anti-Christian substitutes for ecclesiastical teachings and services. The principles to be applied by the Catholic leaders, thus, were clear from the beginning. The problem lay in the development of procedures and of fact-finding agencies through which the principles could be applied. The chief type of agency relied upon—committees of archbishops—failed to function effectively. The differences of opinion among members of the hierarchy were so wide that the matter was referred to the Vatican in 1892. Father MacDonald has explored Catholic diocesan archives extensively. Painstaking and thoughtful use of these materials provides a clear, candid view of the perplexities, the indecision, the concern, and the clashing opinions of the hierarchy. The study reveals at close range the long process by which the Catholic Church in 1894 reached a decision. This work is geared very loosely to large, pertinent developments in nineteenth century America. The oblique and easy assertion that secret societies were occasioned by the shortcomings of "fundamentalist Protestantism" (pp. 1, 9) may be mildly amusing in a study that is concerned heavily with Irish secret societies. The author's hasty case for the church's early nineteenth century activity in fulfilling its social mission (pp. 9-10) is unduly pious and sweeping, and unwholesomely defensive in its mood. Translations of Latin texts would have assisted many readers. Some dissatisfying gaps in the records make one hope that future hierarchical documents will be saved carefully and that existing, scattered materials will be gathered into diocesan archives. Despite the difficulty of his searches, however, the author weaves rich materials into a well-considered and very useful account.

ROBERT P. FOGERTY

MEMOIRS OF A VOLUNTEER, 1861-1863. By *John Beatty*. Edited by *Harvey S. Ford*. Introduction by *Lloyd Lewis*. (New York, W. W. Norton, pp. 317, \$3.50.) Two world wars have come and gone since Appomattox, but American interest in the great American conflict is undimmed, both because it was our great internal crisis, and also because it proved to be the last long struggle of men and horses before the machine age took over the realm of military affairs. The diary of General John Beatty, citizen soldier from Ohio, provides us with a new and moving firsthand account of actual experience with the good, bad, and indifferent of comrades, camps, battles, and leaders, recorded in a realistic fashion most appealing to the reader today. A small-town banker, Beatty left home and family to do his duty as millions of other Americans have done in all wars. Possessed of intelligence, energy, and ambition, he applied himself to the task of learning the military arts and using this knowledge with initiative and ingenuity. His diary records the observations of a keen and understanding mind applied to people, nature, army organization, and politics. Its appreciation of fundamentals has made the volume as fresh and timeless as all sincere accounts of human experience have been. The historical and geographical settings are the stage and scenery for the human actors and are kept in their proper relationships to the central theme. The life and thoughts of the soldier are here, not only those for the theater of operations from western Virginia to northern Alabama from 1861 to late in 1863, but also for soldiers in other theaters and colors of uniform. He describes the war world he lived in with understanding, humor, and, at times, beauty. The choice of detail, the sense of uncertainty, the accuracy of the account, delight the reader intent upon feeling the basic experiences of the times. It is a rewarding book well presented.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

LEGENDS THAT LIBEL LINCOLN. By *Montgomery S. Lewis*. (New York, Rinehart, 1946, pp. 252, \$2.75.) "An attempt to dispel several legends about Lincoln and the people who influenced his life: namely, Ann Rutledge, Mary Todd, and his father, Thomas Lincoln."

THE DIARY OF A PUBLIC MAN, AND A PAGE OF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE, STANTON TO BUCHANAN. Foreword by *Carl Sandburg*. Prefatory Notes by *F. Lauriston Bullard*. (New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1946, pp. 146, \$3.00.) A notice of the limited edition of 1945 appeared in the *American Historical Review*, L (July, 1945), 846.

LEARNING HOW TO BEHAVE: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF AMERICAN ETIQUETTE BOOKS. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger*. (New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. ix, 95, \$2.00.) This is a slender little book—seventy pages of text—but it is provided with all the paraphernalia of scholarly research in footnotes, bibliography, and index. Mr. Schlesinger has given to the student of social history an interesting account of the evolution of etiquette or manners through the years that have elapsed since the first English and European settlers endeavored to make the necessary compromises between the standards of the middle or lower class groups from which they came and the leveling effect of the wilderness in which they were forced to struggle for subsistence. Those first difficult years over, the new Americans took stock of their position and combined an optimistic appreciation of the potential wealth of their environment with a realization of the lowering of standards which frontier life had necessitated and with a desire that they and their children should be ready for the betterment in social position that the probable increase in family wealth might bring. A mobile society and great natural resources made attention to etiquette necessary for those who wished to behave in accordance with the standards of the new level to which they

had attained. New migrations from Europe brought knowledge of changing standards there, and that nostalgia for the old home and customs that ever is the affliction of the exile caused Americans to desire to follow as closely as possible the standards of behavior favored in the Old World. Later, as the country grew, the western frontier felt the same nostalgia and the same desire for the styles and the social ideas of the eastern urban centers. European etiquette books came with the successive migrations or were imported for the instruction of aspiring Americans, and early in the nineteenth century American authors began to make contribution to such works thus setting American standards of behavior for the young republic. From that time to the present the publication of such books and the circulation of periodicals devoted to styles and manners are evidence of the continuing interest in the various aspects of social behavior. Professor Schlesinger has made of his survey of such material an amusing and intriguing sketch of the search of the society-conscious American for this particular variety of social security. He has, of course, also shown that with the years customs, styles, and behavior standards changed and that conformity with the accepted pattern was greatly to be desired, even by the rugged individualist and the jubilant democrat!

ALICE FELT TYLER

AS WE WERE: FAMILY LIFE IN AMERICA, 1850-1900. In pictures and text by *Bellamy Partridge* and *Otto Bettmann*. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1946, pp. 184, \$4.50.) The text is on the high school level but the illustrations are excellent selections and of possible interest to social historians.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AND THE NEGRO SINCE 1920. By *Bernard H. Nelson*. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1946, pp. 185.) Much has been written of the manner in which the judicial interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment has affected the status of the Negro since the first World War. Until the appearance of this work, however, it was necessary for the interested student to examine scores of articles in law reviews and other similar periodicals in order to obtain a satisfactory picture of just what has happened in this very important area. Mr. Nelson has relieved everyone, except the most meticulous specialist, of this arduous task; for he has produced a work which, while brief, gives every evidence that a careful study of all the available materials on the subject has been made. He has followed carefully the important litigations involving the Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro from the lowest state courts to the United States Supreme Court with a view to interpreting their significance for the Negro in American life. Residential segregation, disfranchisement, the white primary, fair trials, jury exclusion, and educational opportunities are among the more important larger problems covered. The value of the treatment of these subjects is considerably enhanced by the manner in which the author takes cognizance of the general political, social, and economical developments which vitally affected the history of the Negro during the period. While the general trend during the period was toward a more liberal interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment involving Negroes, there was a strong current of opposition to granting relief to the Negro through the application of the Fourteenth Amendment. The opposition, both on and off the court, was balanced to some extent by the growing protest voiced by Negroes and their sympathizers and by the changing complexion and philosophy of the court, especially after 1937. Mr. Nelson is well aware of the wide gulf that exists between court victories and their practical benefits. He is convinced, however, that a continued liberal interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, together with a decrease of racial intolerance and constant vigilance on the part of Negroes, will go far toward making the amendment the protective shield for human beings that it has already become for corporations.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

THE ALIEN AND THE ASIATIC IN AMERICAN LAW. By Milton R. Konvitz. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1946, pp. xiv, 299, \$3.00.) "Two classes of persons are covered by this study, namely, (1) the alien, and (2) the American citizen of Asiatic (for example, Chinese, Japanese) ancestry. The Filipino, who occupied the unenviable position of being neither a citizen nor an alien, is also considered. The book is, therefore, in part a study of the 'race problem' in the United States. As a study of this problem, however, the book is incomplete, for the status of the Negro receives no consideration. The book is chiefly a study of how the United States Supreme Court has reacted to problems relating to the alien and to the American citizen of Asiatic descent. It is also a study of the past and present legal status of these groups, and an attempt to make a contribution to the field of legal and political sociology. While the book is, then, a study in constitutional law, or a study of Supreme Court decisions and opinions, it is at the same time a presentation of pertinent legislative and background materials. It is intended that the reader, without needing to resort to other works (unless he is a specialist), shall get the rather full statement of the status of the alien and the American citizen of Asiatic ancestry under American constitutional law."

WRITING YOUR COMMUNITY'S WAR HISTORY. By Marvin W. Schlegel. [Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History, Volume I, Number 11.] (Raleigh, the Society, 1946, pp. 305-33.)

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

AN AMHERST BOYHOOD. By *Alfred E. Stearns*. Foreword by Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone. (Amherst, Amherst College, 1946, pp. x, 212, \$2.00.) Alfred Stearns, chairman of the board of trustees of Amherst College, was for thirty years the distinguished headmaster of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. The influences which shaped his career are of compelling interest to historians of both institutions. His adventurous father, William French Stearns, benefactor of the college and son of the Reverend William A. Stearns, its fourth president, had a fabulous career as a merchant prince in India, but lost his fortune and died in his prime when Alfred was not yet three, leaving Mrs. Stearns to face alone the education of seven children. The combination of circumstances by which a fun-loving boy, immersed in Congregational piety, was brought up with his brothers in the attic of a boarding school for young ladies conducted by his heroic mother, in the president's house of a men's college, furnished the ingredients of high romance. But tragedy was added when, one by one, four of the children died of tuberculosis. This book has a local flavor, enhanced by sketches of amusing characters who used to roam the streets, and is useful to anyone who wishes to know what a New England country college was like in the early nineties. Appropriate space is allotted to tennis and baseball in which the author was pre-eminent, and to football games in which the signals were called by his fellow townsman and classmate, Harlan Fiske Stone. And the educational process is seen at work, not upon the intellectual boy but upon an average student, as Mr. Stearns describes himself, who needs the vitalizing influence of great teaching to rouse a mind absorbed in athletics and social activities. Such a stimulus the future master builder of Phillips Andover found in Charles E. Garman, professor of philosophy and metaphysics at Amherst. And so, the high point of the volume is a close-up of that great teacher who brought about the awakening not only of Alfred Stearns but of many other students of his generation.

MILLICENT TODD BINGHAM

THOMAS HENRY BURROWES, 1805-1871. By *Robert Landis Mohr*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946, pp. xi, 271, \$4.00.) The most significant books in the field of education to appear within recent months have been biographies and historical treatises relating to the work of distinguished educators. Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Daniel C. Gilman, and William T. Harris have been commemorated in recent volumes. Research specialists have been busy attempting to appraise or to restore the dimming fame of lesser lights, among whom may be mentioned the subject of this review, Thomas Henry Burrowes (1805-1871). The reader, unfamiliar with the history of Pennsylvania public schools, may be pardoned for asking, "Who was Thomas Henry Burrowes?" After consulting numerous encyclopedias and books of reference he is likely to conclude that he is not alone in his ignorance, for most of these books fail to include the name of this nineteenth century politician and educator. Why this neglect on the part of historians? This reviewer thinks it can hardly be due to lack of source materials, for the author found numerous well-thumbed public documents and a plenitude of private manuscripts. Nor, he thinks, can the neglect be

traced to reticence on the part of Burrowes, for no Pennsylvanian of his day was more vocal on school matters. There remains the possibility that the leadership he offered the public school movement as a layman antagonized the professional schoolmen. Color is lent to this hypothesis, which Dr. Mohr did not explore, by the fact that Burrowes, although twice state superintendent of schools, later state superintendent of orphan schools, and, still later, president of the Pennsylvania Agricultural College—all by political appointment—was never a public school teacher. With this background it was peculiarly unfortunate that he fell out with teachers like Wickersham and Bates who were to write the history of the schools. This biography rescues Burrowes from oblivion but, in the reviewer's opinion, it fails to raise him to national eminence. Burrowes' life is replete with contradictions. Denouncing Governor Wolf's school law in the political campaign of 1834, he, along with Thaddeus Stevens and the incoming governor, Ritner, flopped over to its support in 1835. In 1836, he expressed his preference for private teachers' seminaries, only to reverse his position and approve public normal schools the next year. He condemned Herbert Spencer's scientific philosophy at the very moment he was himself promoting the scientific study of agriculture. Dr. Mohr, who finds it difficult to conceal his partiality, admits that Burrowes was in turn a progressive and a conservative. In the reviewer's mind there lurks a strong suspicion that Burrowes' contradictory behavior was that of a politician trimming his sails to suit the winds of popular sentiment. Openly boasting of his political acumen, he was remarkably agile in pulling down political plums. Dr. Mohr's dissertation is an interesting study of an interesting man in an interesting period of American history. His problem is well analyzed and well presented. If it promotes controversy, it certainly does not fall flat.

STUART G. NOBLE

LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN TO BISHOP MCQUAID AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. By *Frederick J. Zwierlein*. (Rochester, N. Y., Art Print Shop, 1946, pp. 229, \$3.00.)

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE LITERATURE OF VIRGINIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Howard Mumford Jones*. (Boston, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946, pp. 47.)

CAROLINA CHRONICLE: THE PAPERS OF COMMISSARY GIDEON JOHNSTON, 1707-1716. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by *Frank J. Klingberg*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXV.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1946, pp. x, 186, \$2.00.) Dr. Klingberg does not exaggerate when he states in the preface to *Carolina Chronicle*: "For historical purposes this collection is sufficiently full and continuous to give a complete view of South Carolina in the early years of the eighteenth century." The papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, compiled from the S.P.G. transcripts in the Library of Congress, not only give a full historical conspectus but also form a fascinating personal narrative and afford an unparalleled insight into the social and intellectual life of the young colony. Johnston arrived in South Carolina with his family early in 1708. The colony was still in its formative stage with troublous years ahead. Poverty, inflation, disease, political and religious dissension, frontier defense, and the confusion and evils of a weak proprietary system plagued the colony in this period and are vividly described in the commissary's reports and letters. He experienced the hardships, suffered the ills, and engaged in the controversies, all in full measure. The *Chronicle* is most valuable, however, for the light it throws on the establishment of the Anglican Church in South Carolina. Johnston's part in this was considerable. A strict and ardent churchman, he was appalled at the laxity, profaneness, and immorality among Carolinians, and he immediately set himself to combat these evils, as well as to fight dissenters, to win over the important Huguenot element to the establishment, and to bring the Anglican clergy and churchmen to a closer conformity with English practice and ideals. This last was a particularly vexatious problem, for the churchmen were accustomed to running their own affairs, even to electing their rectors, and the authority of the bishop of London's commissary had slight acceptance. Nevertheless Johnston persevered. With the help of the society and its missionaries he was able to fix the established church in the orthodox Anglican pattern and on a foundation that was to outlast the colonial period. Dr. Klingberg's scholarly introduction and notes furnish

the reader with the necessary historical background and point out for the student the many contributions which the Johnston papers make to a fuller understanding of early Carolina history.

FREDERICK P. BOWES

A CHECK LIST OF ALABAMA IMPRINTS, 1807-1870. By Rhoda Coleman Ellison. (University, Ala., University of Alabama Press, 1946, pp. 151, \$1.75.) "Although this record of early Alabama imprints is still far from complete, it adds numerous titles to those named in the *Union List of Newspapers* and the *Union List of Serials* and in Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama* and McMurtrie's *Check List of Alabama Imprints, 1807-1840*. To the most recent of these, the McMurtrie check list, it has been possible to add sixty-seven items for the period 1807-1840, an increase of approximately twenty per cent."

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

HISTORIC MADISON: THE STORY OF JACKSON AND MADISON COUNTY, TENNESSEE, FROM THE PREHISTORIC MOUNDBUILDERS TO 1917. By *Emma Inman Williams*. (Jackson, Madison County Historical Society, 1946, pp. 553, \$5.00.) This work falls in the category of "authorized" history, having been sponsored by the county historical society and published as a contribution to the sesquicentennial celebration of Tennessee statehood in 1946. It therefore partakes somewhat of both the merits and defects inherent in such historical writing. The author, being a resident of the county and a teacher in one of its schools, had the advantage of easy access to local materials and familiarity with local traditions and geography. On the other hand, she has not entirely escaped the pitfalls that lurk in too close an association with the local scene, the result being a certain tendency toward eulogistic treatment. The author has wisely refrained from attempting a biographical or genealogical history and has handled well the problem of how far to pursue the activities of natives or residents of the county into state and national spheres. For example, the exploits of Davy Crockett are not followed into Texas, and the military achievements of Madison County troops in the Civil War and other wars are not elaborated. Emphasis is appropriately placed upon the social, economic, and political forces that influenced the development of Jackson as an inland cotton center and later changed it into a commercial center in the midst of a progressive farming area of today. Numerous illustrations portray the county's development from early times to the twentieth century, and a well-chosen appendix contains some interesting source material, including a number of letters written to residents of the county by Andrew Jackson, eight of these not having been hitherto published. Footnote citations are not uniform, nor are authors' names and titles always correctly spelled. The history of this capital county of West Tennessee deserved better proofreading.

JAMES W. PATTON

THE GREAT CHICAGO FIRE: DESCRIBED IN SEVEN LETTERS BY MEN AND WOMEN WHO EXPERIENCED ITS HORRORS, AND NOW PUBLISHED IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CATASTROPHE. Introduction and Notes by *Paul M. Angle*. (Chicago, Chicago Historical Society, 1946, pp. 83, \$3.00.)

BATTLE FOR CHICAGO. By *Wayne Andrews*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1946, pp. viii, 358, \$3.75.) The titans who were outstanding in the vigorous and sometimes troublous development of Chicago's history are described in all their glory, some of their pettiness, and much of their manipulation in this informal history of the city by Wayne Andrews. Mr. Andrews concentrates on personalities and, to a lesser degree, on architecture, and he has much of historical value to present in both fields of Chicago's progress. Real estate is also an underlying theme of the story, for it was by real estate directly or indirectly that many of the men who struggled for wealth and notoriety in Chicago attained both. One of the striking things about Mr. Andrews' story is that the forebears of the present-day families who are prominent in Chicago and in some other parts of the country exhibited many of the reactionary traits in

much the same way as their descendants have exhibited them. I refer particularly to the McCormick family, who, with very few exceptions, had the same ideas Colonel Robert R. McCormick promulgates today from his *Tribune* tower. The present Marshall Field is something of an exception, and Mr. Andrews' book contains fascinating material about the first Marshall Field and interesting data on his descendants' activities including the present publisher of the Chicago *Sun*. This is an absorbing story of newspaper development, department store enterprise, packing house competition, traction and other public utility deals, political manipulation, and architectural splendor. Historians will find Mr. Andrews' account a valuable source of collateral material on the city which probably has the most vivacious history of any in the country. In the course of that history significant trends of the development of American industry and individuality are revealed, and Mr. Andrews does justice to a variegated and important subject.

M. R. WERNER

THE BUFFALO TRACE. By *George R. Wilson* and *Gayle Thornbrough*. [Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume XV, Number 2.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1946, pp. 177-279, 75 cents.)

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## Latin-American History

John J. Johnson

### GENERAL

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN LATIN AMERICA. By *Robin A. Humphreys*, Reader in American History in the University of London. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 176, \$3.00.) Though it is based largely on special studies by American writers, this little book is valuable as a British bird's-eye view of its large subject, which is the development of Latin America from the beginning of independence about 1810 to the Chapultepec Conference early in 1945. The British bias is apparent both in the strong emphasis on those countries which are of chief interest to the British public (mainly Argentina, Brazil, and Chile), and also in the author's very indulgent treatment of Great Britain's role in Latin-American affairs. For example, despite the heavy stress laid on Argentina, the important and controversial Roca-Runciman agreement of 1933 appears only in a footnote, where it is not discussed and serves mainly to introduce a denunciation of American criticisms of British policy towards the Argentine question in World War II. But neither is this policy discussed, though informed exegesis would have been very much in order. In fact, the whole Argentine situation since the coup of the "Colonel's Clique" in 1943 remains vague in these pages. Mr. Humphreys does not even mention the name of Juan Domingo Perón, the central figure in this situation. The reader is merely left with the impression that while something unpleasant was going on, Britain's part in it was correct, as usual. Probably as a result of Mr. Humphreys' concentration on southern South America, undue stress is laid on "The Coming of the Immigrant," to which one chapter, comprising one seventh of the text, is devoted, despite the fact (admitted by the author himself) that only Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil have received a large volume of immigrants and that large parts of Latin America have "remained untouched by the immigrant stream." It would have been sounder to stress the coming of foreign capital, business enterprise, and technology, which has touched every part of Latin America and profoundly influenced most of it. Moreover, Mr. Humphreys' discussion of future immigration policy would have been improved if it had been integrated with a discussion of population trends in Latin America. Nowhere does he call the reader's attention to the fact that the population of Latin America is growing more rapidly than that of any other major region of the world. Nevertheless, this book has important merits and, if accompanied by the necessary correctives, could be used to good advantage as required reading for college courses in history and political science. Chapter I, "The Setting and the People," is superlatively good; chapter IV, "Democracy and Dictatorship," contains so many sage observations that all American students ought to read it; and the concluding chapters, "Hemisphere Relations" and "Latin America in World Affairs," are in the main well done. The literary style is good throughout; the thirteen maps are small but helpful; and the three-page "Note on Sources of Information" is a handy guide for further reading.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1945. Edited by *Arthur P. Whitaker*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. 328, \$3.75.) The contributors to this fifth survey

of inter-American affairs deserve a vote of thanks for a difficult task well done. Freed from many of the shackles imposed on scholarship by the war, the authors, in their various articles, show not only awareness but, above all, expansiveness and freshness in handling the problems which affected the American nations in 1945. Seven subjects are dealt with in the volume: "Pan-America in Politics and Diplomacy," Arthur P. Whitaker; "Canada," Paul Redwood; "Issues in Inter-American Economic Relations," Sanford A. Mosk; "Political and Social Thought in Latin America," William Ebenstein; "Labor and Social Welfare," Otis E. Mulliken and Sarah E. Roberts; "Cultural Relations," W. Rex Crawford; and "Economic Development in Latin America," Miron Burgin and Charles F. Carson. Three of the articles seem to merit special notice. Mr. Whitaker shows remarkable objectivity and clearness of presentation in handling such confusing issues as the Chapultepec and San Francisco conferences and the Argentine question. Mr. Ebenstein's article on the complex subject of political and social thought in the nations to the south is clear and concise; along with Mr. Whitaker's essay, it will help to untangle much of the confused thinking engendered by certain sections of the press and the erratic policy of our own State Department. Mr. Mosk's succinct analysis of how the Latin-American scholar, businessman, and banker look upon the problems affecting inter-American economic relations should set many persons to thinking. Among the eight appendixes found at the end of the volume, the statistical tables, prepared by Miron Burgin, and the inter-American chronology will probably prove especially useful. Regarding the statistical tables, the editor points out in the foreword that the lifting of restrictions after V-J Day made it possible to include a number of figures giving formerly blacked-out data on the war years. Professor Whitaker has now directed the survey through its first half decade. Each year he has made it more valuable through his own articles and the ability he has displayed as editor. The reviewer is sure that all Latin-Americanists join him in expressing his appreciation to Mr. Whitaker.

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## New York: 1896 and 1946

THE sixty-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held in New York City on December 27, 28, and 30, with headquarters at the Hotel Pennsylvania. Drawn by the easing of travel conditions and the prospect of renewing associations and activities interrupted by war, the membership turned out in record numbers for the first full-scale gathering since the 1941 meeting in Chicago.

The registration of 1,236 represented an increase of 371 over the 1941 total and surpassed the previous all-time high (at New York in 1940) by 120. Surveying the crowded lobbies and overflowing sessions, two veteran members, Professor Frank M. Anderson and Dr. Victor Paltsits, recalled that they attended the first meeting held in New York fifty years ago.<sup>1</sup> There was an attendance of perhaps a hundred, but the program carried the names of two future presidents of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. The former was too busy as police commissioner of New York City to appear. It is not known whether the influx of historians had increased his conflicting duties or whether he had overlooked what he once called "these small men who do most of the historic teaching in the colleges." Professor Wilson was on hand to discuss Professor Frederick Jackson Turner's plea for the study of Western history and to supplement it by a plea for the sympathetic study of Southern history. He thought a Scotch-Irishman would be the coming historian of that area.

In sharp contrast to those "good old days" the program at this meeting consisted of thirty-seven sessions, at which seventy-one papers and addresses were presented. Some 122 persons, in addition to chairmen, were listed as participants. The arduous task of registering, feeding, entertaining, and collecting from the assembled company was skillfully handled by Thomas C. Cochran's resourceful local arrangements committee. Much credit for the smooth functioning of the meeting is due Professor Cochran and his colleagues, particularly Professors Harold Syrett and Ray W. Irwin, who served as secretary and treasurer, respectively.

The program committee, consisting of Professor Dwight C. Miner, chairman, Dr. Robert Ergang, and Professors Beatrice F. Hyslop and Richard B. Morris, formulated its plans last spring when the immediate effects of military demobilization and academic readjustment were everywhere in evidence. The members early came to the conclusion that it would be inadvisable, in view of the wartime dispersion of scholarly energies, to attempt to focus the sessions on one or more central themes. It was felt that a more useful purpose would be served, at this particular

<sup>1</sup> At this meeting those in attendance signed a register now preserved in the Washington office. The following from that list are the only known survivors: Frank M. Anderson, E. C. Burnett, J. M. Callahan, O. G. Libby, A. C. McLaughlin, and Victor Paltsits. [Editor]

meeting, by bringing under review the range and caliber of historical investigation which had been in progress during or since the war.

So much for the committee's purpose. The results, as presented at the December meeting, have in turn incurred a mandate of review. In general, the familiar fields of research were rather better represented than was prognosticated a year ago. Some scholars had been able to continue their labors, at least in part, despite the distractions and alarms of war; others, returning from a martial interlude, had speedily restored their neglected acres to production. At the same time, the recent preoccupations of many members of the profession were reflected in the numerous sessions concerned with analyses of economic, political, and military developments of the past twenty-five years. Possibly even more significant for the future, was the emphasis given, in response to widespread interest, to research problems in specific areas and to the techniques and materials of postwar scholarship.

## I

Before summarizing the individual meetings in accordance with the rough classification just mentioned, it seems appropriate to report the proceedings at the morning and afternoon sessions on December 27 which developed the theme of "Freedom and Bondage" from the earliest civilizations down to the present day. In a paper on "Slavery and Servitude in the Ancient Near East," Isaac Mendelsohn of Columbia University advanced the thesis that economic uniformity produced a similar type of slavery from the Persian Gulf to Egypt. National poverty, he maintained, lay at the base of all ancient slavery, but the slave had certain rights at law, among them the restraints in Hebrew law against the master's disciplinary authority. Economically, the most important form of bondage, according to the speaker, was state slavery. Next in numerical importance was temple slavery, while common (privately owned) slavery was least significant. Throughout the area under review the slave was not differentiated by race, nor subject to segregation. A. L. Oppenheim of the Iranian Institute suggested in his discussion of this paper that stress should be placed upon the sociological and psychological aspects of ancient slavery, especially in Assyria. Attention should be paid to the king-subject relationship and account taken of urban-rural tensions in the Near East. He concluded that neither "slave" nor "free man" is an adequate term to describe social classes in this area in ancient times.

The medieval portion of the program was introduced by Carl Stephenson of Cornell University, who discussed "The Essential Character of Medieval Serfdom." His paper was intended primarily as a tribute to the memory of Marc Bloch, a victim of the Nazis. Professor Stephenson supported the Bloch-Pirenne thesis that the societies of the Celts and Germans were already seignorial in the early Middle Ages and he maintained that this seignorial relationship was even true of manorial life in England prior to the Norman Conquest. Pirenne's thesis that it was the commercial revival of the twelfth century that revolutionized society and con-

tributed to agrarian emancipation was endorsed by the speaker. The realization that capitalistically organized villages gave a better profit than inherited manors resulted in the lord's converting ancient services into money rents and turned villeins into copyholders. Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University cautioned against a too easy acceptance of the Bloch-Pirenne-Stephenson thesis, and cited the extreme scantiness of the documents on early serfdom as a deterrent to broad generalizations. Differing with Professor Stephenson on the failure of all peasant revolts, Dr. Thorndike pointed out that some were liberative in their results and others led to reactionary legislation. He further questioned the thesis that serfdom existed among the ancient Germanic peoples and observed that it was agrarian progress that made the commercial revival possible.

The concluding paper at the opening session was contributed by W. Gordon Zeeveld, University of Maryland, who examined the subject of "Labor and Egalitarianism in Sixteenth Century Europe." Analyzing the concept of fixed degree in the medieval period, Dr. Zeeveld stressed the point that in writers of the sixteenth century social equality was becoming an active force as a more practical equality of opportunity was arising. Richard Schlatter of Rutgers University conceded that men had a freer choice of vocations in the period under discussion and that a fluid society with greater equality of opportunity was the accepted state of affairs, but contended that the majority of the thinkers of the period did not believe in the virtues of social equality and that the older view of Luther was still the dominant conception of the time.

In a brilliant summing up, the chairman, William Linn Westermann of Columbia University, questioned some of the concepts of ancient slavery advanced by Dr. Mendelsohn, expressed doubts as to the importance of state slavery in the ancient Near East, and cited examples from his own researches in Greek and Roman slavery. He denied the validity of the Bloch-Stephenson theory that serfdom was an upgrading from Roman slavery, and maintained that the colonate represented in fact a deterioration of freedom.

The afternoon session on "Freedom and Bondage" stressed the limitations on freedom in the modern world. Addressing himself to the subject of "Slavery and Contract Labor under Nineteenth Century Imperialism," Eric Williams of Howard University emphasized the fact that "the coercion and degradation of labor are inherent in the West Indian sugar industry." When the Negroes deserted the sugar plantations after emancipation, contract labor from India and China was substituted. According to the speaker, contract labor was as inefficient a system as earlier slavery. In the British West Indies, mechanized cultivation was rejected in favor of manual labor and the sugar industry in that area remains today among the least mechanized in the world. The West Indian sugar industry was checked not only by contract labor, a reactionary political system, and chaos in the world market, but by the rivalry of beet sugar as well. Cane and beet, Williams urged in conclusion, are similar, both industrially and chemically. The cultivation of

both have been characterized by the extreme poverty and degradation of the laborer. The same generalizations would be appropriate to the French West Indies, Melvin D. Kennedy, of Morehouse College, declared in discussion. There, too, the emancipation of the Negro was followed by indentured servitude and the absence of any small peasant proprietorship program. The social process described by Dr. Williams also took place in southeast Asia, according to Bruno Lasker of the Southeast Asia Institute. In that area tens of thousands were indentured without even recourse to law. Colonial producers could force whole populations away from their familiar forms of agriculture into a monoculture which made them helpless in their dependence on the great estates. A hopeful note was raised by Dr. Lasker in his conclusion, when he pointed out that in recent times indentured labor has been almost universally abandoned in dependent territories. Furthermore, over the past two generations the trend has been in the direction of social control over the anarchistic tendencies of colonial private enterprise.

In an able and provocative paper entitled "Freedom and National Planning," Herbert Harris turned his attention from freedoms for labor to freedom for business. Reviewing the position of the American businessman since 1929, he pointed out that his prestige, lowered by the depression, has subsequently been partially restored by the war. At present there is a widespread feeling that the businessman should be given his head. What, asked the speaker, is the American businessman going to do with his chance? To contribute to continued prosperity, he warned, the American businessman must "avoid the mistake of confusing ritual with reality," he must scrap eighteenth century *laissez-faire* concepts. Henceforth, considerations of the public good must precede or be co-equal with considerations of private gain: "The *market price* of Adam Smith has to be supplanted by the *social price* of atomic fission." The speaker advocated frankly recognizing that we are in a mixed economy, with private enterprise occupying one sector, public enterprise a second, and both sharing a third. The powerful economic groups continue to plan in their own conflicting interests, but there is little or no planning in the public interest. In conclusion, the speaker urged that the feeling of freedom be made to resemble the actuality of freedom—the ability to make conscious personal, social, moral, political, and economic choices, "the choices of an individual whose psychological security reveals his sense of useful participation in the nation's work."

In the field of ancient history, Naphtali Lewis of Columbia University read a paper entitled "The Roman-Arab Frontier in the Light of Recent Discoveries," based upon data excavated by New York University and the British School at Jerusalem in 1936 at 'Auja el Hafir, the site of an ancient frontier post called Nessana by the Greeks. The village, founded at least as early as the second century B.C., according to Lewis, guarded a trade route until Trajan shifted the road, and subsequently it achieved a new prominence as a military post in the time of Theodosius the Great. Excavations disclosed evidences of an agricultural life, carried on by the soldiers and based on irrigation. Of particular significance was

the discovery of numerous papyri, including a text of Vergil and a lexicon for Vergil, dating from the Byzantine period. None of the Nessana papyri, the speaker declared, can be dated after 700 A.D. and early in the eighth century the inhabitants reverted to a nomadic existence.

Afterwards Ernest Hettich of New York University contributed some remarks concerning the Latin papyri and their significance for the text of Vergil. The paper of Dr. Lewis was discussed by Philip K. Hitti of Princeton University and C. Bradford Welles of Yale. Professor Hitti sought a different explanation for the disappearance of the village in the eighth century, and a lively debate ensued over the possibility of earthquake and plague as causes. Professor Wing of Dickinson College raised the question whether the rapid decline was in part owing to the withdrawal of Arab *de facto* support from the line of settlements because of the strain of great military expeditions to the North and West. Professor Welles, who had just returned from the area, emphasized the unfavorable climate.

William Wallace of the University of Toronto read a paper on "Eretria's Early Empire," mentioned merely as pre-Persian by Strabo (X, 1, 10). He argued that the evidence did not support the assumption of continental possessions but that Eretria ruled Andros, Teos, Ceos, and other islands. At the end of the eighth century, Eretria, after two unsuccessful attempts to join in the western adventures of Chalkis, had carved out a small empire for herself nearer home, and then established successful colonies in the Chalkidic peninsula. It was at this time that she appropriated lands in the Lelantine plain. The speaker maintained that the height of Eretria's power should be dated roughly between 700 and 650 B.C. The great struggle with Chalkis came later.

The paper was discussed by Professor Welles, who spoke on the character of early wars between Greek city states and on the handling of evidence as to chronology.

George P. Cuttino of Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr Colleges opened the session on medieval history with a paper on "King's Clerks in the Reign of Edward I." He showed that the king's clerks were clearly superior to the ordinary government scribes and that their social position was higher than most scholars have realized. Many held sizable amounts of land and, in addition, received valuable benefices. The large number of king's clerks—estimated at about 1,500—made them a powerful political force and their position as landholders made it easier for them to work with the aristocracy. They seem to have come largely from regions where there were many freeholders and they were often related by family and community ties.

Barnaby Keeney of Brown University discussed "Developments toward Nationalism in England, 1272-1327." He found some evidence that toward the end of the thirteenth century the inhabitants of England were coming to believe that they had a common origin and common interests. The latter centered in the crown and were stimulated by the attempt of Edward I to secure military service

from all his subjects. The writs of summons show the government trying to appeal to common ideals—defense of the king's rights and defense of the English church. Professor Keeney concluded that "the beginnings of modern nationalism are to be found at the turn of the fourteenth century, but that the concept in modern form is not there."

In the discussion which followed, William H. Dunham, jr., of Yale suggested that the king's clerks may have played as important a role in intellectual history as they did in politics. Some unascribed legal treatises and reports may have been written by these functionaries. He also suggested that training for the position of king's clerk may have prepared some men to act as lawyers. Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins felt that the period of Edward I was even more important in the development of English nationalism than Professor Keeney had shown, and suggested additional evidences of the growth of national feeling. Professor Wilkinson of Toronto stressed the importance of the attempt to secure overseas service from men who did not owe it as part of their feudal obligation. He also suggested that the use of the phrase "*negotia regis et regni*" showed the growth of interests common to all.

"Urban's Crusade, Success or Failure?" was the subject of a paper by August C. Krey of the University of Minnesota, at a conference on the Crusades held on Saturday afternoon. In presenting his interpretation of the motives which prompted Urban to launch the First Crusade, Krey argued that the pope really sought the reunion of the Latin and Greek churches and, in this sense, the expedition was a failure. He opposed the viewpoint that the theocracy advocated by Daimbert could be attributed to Urban, since the former was not a papal legate, and advocated the theory that the best exemplar of Urban's policy was Raymond of Toulouse. A spirited discussion from the floor followed the paper. Following this, John L. LaMonte of the University of Pennsylvania, presiding in the absence of Professor Duncalf, adjourned the public meeting and the conference was resolved into a business session to hear the report on the progress of the co-operative "History of the Crusades." LaMonte reported the successful assignment of ninety-two chapters to some fifty-three authors here and abroad, and suggestions from the floor added new chapters and authors to the list. The publication contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press was discussed and the problem of financing the project prior to publication was considered, with the recommendation by the group that funds be sought for a four-year editorial project.

At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America on Friday evening, Professor Painter delivered an address on "The Ideas in Magna Carta." After initially noting the inauspicious beginning of Magna Carta as a truce between baronial and royal forces, the speaker pointed to the charter as emanating from a feudal political system that was rapidly becoming obsolete before a rising money economy. Professor Painter characterized the baronial opposition as "conservative, if not reactionary" and Magna Carta as an "expression of feudal custom." He emphasized, however, that certain assumptions of the feudal system, as embodied



in the charter, outlived the system and were important in the course of succeeding centuries: (1) *Liber homo*, the free (*i.e.* privileged) man. (2) The right of the vassal to be consulted and, conversely, the obligation of the lord to seek counsel. Its corollary was the principle that vassals had to give their consent to unusual feudal exactions. This later became the basis for establishing parliamentary power, although the barons apparently had no general idea of "No taxation without consent." (3) The power of the lord was not absolute, but limited by custom, and, particularly in the case of the king, by the custom as expressed in Magna Carta. The charter's continual reissuance in later centuries was a symbol of the king's subservience to the law. (4) The right to resort to war to redress feudal violations. This assumption had later echoes in British and American fondness "for the right of rebellion against oppression—when practiced on them instead of by them."

Professor Painter concluded his paper with the suggestion that William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, shaped the charter, and that his colleague, Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, was undoubtedly also influential.

Following upon the paper an informal discussion from the floor centered on statements of the speaker regarding the conservative nature of the baronial opposition and the medieval concept of "liberty" as "privilege."

The joint session with the American Society of Church History was held on Monday morning, with Matthew Spinka of the Hartford Theological Seminary as chairman. Roy Battenhouse of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in a paper which he described as "deliberately contentious and provocative," analyzed the Doctrine of Man in Renaissance Platonism and Calvin. Ray C. Petry of Duke University followed with a paper on the "Emphasis on the Gospel and Christian Reform in Late Medieval Preaching" in which he examined the ideas and methods of influential preachers from Francis of Assisi to Savonarola. In conclusion, he stressed the fact that "however inadequate in our sight their projects of reformation may have been," their interpretation of the Gospel "did produce changes in the social life that we have inherited." The discussion from the floor was spirited and extensive. Ben Nelson of the University of Chicago raised the criticism that Professor Battenhouse had failed to indicate the difference in emphasis between Calvin and earlier thinkers in the use of Neo-Platonic imagery. In commenting on Dr. Petry's paper, Professor Thomson of the University of Colorado suggested that the invention of printing and Luther's and Calvin's ignorance of their predecessors were responsible for much of the failure to recognize the continuity between the late medieval preachers and the evangelical teaching of the Reformers.

From the theological concerns of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, the sessions moved at a single stride to the highly secular attitudes of the second half of the eighteenth century. Three aspects of Old and New World outlooks on mutual relationships between 1750 and 1805 were examined at a Saturday morning session with William T. Laprade of Duke University presiding.

Max Savelle of Stanford University opened the meeting with a paper on

"American Colonial Opinion toward Anglo-French Relations, 1750-1775." Drawing upon newspapers, diaries, sermons, and assembly debates, he declared that a sincere and profound attachment for England existed in the colonies prior and during the French and Indian War, based upon English origins and traditions and the French threat along the frontier. This patriotism was mercantilist and aggressive respecting western land claims. During the war, according to Savelle, colonial opinion became increasingly aware of the importance of America in the world at large and magnified the colonial contribution to victory over the French. The attitude toward the mother country gradually changed between 1765 and 1775 and the newspapers, concentrating upon the imperial dispute, paid little attention to Franco-British relations. It was John Adams, the speaker asserted, "who probably saw more clearly the potential value of the Anglo-French rivalry to the American cause." Before the decade was over, opinion on France shifted until she had "become the prospective ally, to be courted for her aid. . . ." In summary, Savelle concluded that "the orientation of the slowly self-conscious American people toward the outside world was moving, in the years between 1750 and 1775, toward a demand for acceptance as a new member . . . of the Atlantic community of nations."

The second paper, "British Opinion of Franco-American Relations, 1775-95," was given by Dora Mae Clark of Wilson College. Discussing the problem of censorship and the accuracy of newspaper reporting, the speaker defended the view that "newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, reports of parliamentary debates, and correspondence of public and private men will supply us with an adequate indication of contemporary opinion." Miss Clark stated that French intrigue with the colonies had been known in Great Britain for some time prior to 1778 and that while the government was concerned with diplomatic and military problems, "the public was at least equally concerned with French menace to trade and other economic interests." Some made light of the Franco-American treaty, but by 1783, all Englishmen agreed on the desirability of peace. A conflict between public opinion and government policy developed, with the interests of English shipping a prime factor. With the outbreak of war between England and France in 1793, England did not fear American participation, but realized that her trade could be troublesome, and hence the British orders-in-council against trade with France. Had Jay's Treaty reflected public opinion, Miss Clark asserted, "it seems likely that the commercial clauses would have been more favorable to America, even if the public had been aware, as the government was, that America firmly intended to remain neutral." The speaker concluded that public opinion, as contrasted with British official action, would have favored more conciliatory policies designed to win America from her French connections: first, by a modification of colonial trade policies; then, in 1778, by recognition of American independence; and, after 1783, by a liberal commercial treaty with the United States."

The third paper, "French Opinion of Anglo-American Relations, 1795-1805,"

presented by Frances Childs of Brooklyn College, took up the narrative with 1794, and ended with the establishment of the French Empire in 1804. In the period covered, Miss Childs indicated that the problem of public opinion was three-fold, in that "favorable Anglo-American relations were seen as a threat to favorable Franco-American relations, in fact aimed at alienating the United States from France." She emphasized a divergence between official government-controlled opinion, and less official opinion, the former looking upon England as the traditional enemy and upon the United States as "friend and partner in the revolutionary spirit." There was, in the speaker's opinion, a connecting link between bitterness over the Jay Treaty and the XYZ affair. Gradually, the tone of the official press changed to one of impatience with America and the way was paved for a reversal of French policy. French papers showed little interest in the purchase of Louisiana, and it was chiefly reported as "enlightened French policy." Miss Childs described the French refugee press in the United States as "another interesting outlet for French opinion of Anglo-American relations" which exerted a realistic influence on the metropolitan French papers, with Tanguy de la Boissière, Otto, and Talleyrand as the chief spokesmen. In conclusion, it was held that the French press distorted the unpopularity of the Jay Treaty, and played up pro-British activity in the United States. The censorship clamped down on papers in France after 1799 and political news became more scarce. On the other hand, "If propaganda and censorship clearly controlled the average reader, the mature and thoughtful Frenchman had means of correcting that indoctrination with the material from the New World."

Inaugurating the discussion, John C. Miller of Bryn Mawr College advanced the thesis that England became aware of her colonies and lost them as a result of the policy of awareness. He felt that the British anticipated the necessity of United States independence as early as 1778, but that Miss Clark had overestimated Whig influence. Miss Childs, according to Miller, proved that the British had little to fear from French influence in the United States, and hence moderation was the result not of fear of French competition, but of United States retaliation.

Miss Wilma Pugh of Mount Holyoke College drew all three papers together by emphasis upon the triangular character of their subject matter. In respect to American development, she regarded Anglo-French relations as incidental and she pointed out that all three papers demonstrated the importance of the Mississippi Valley in mutual relations. Criticizing the neglect of business correspondence in the period covered, Miss Pugh cited the Baring correspondence as evidence that concern for fisheries and the slave trade were more important than the carrying trade, which Miss Clark had emphasized. She further commented on the light which Talleyrand's writings threw upon French friendship and patience with the United States and emphasized that the relations of Britain with the United States were only a small part of the whole picture of French affairs.

Among the points raised in discussion from the floor were the relative impor-

tance, in terms of English attitudes, of exports to the United States versus imports and the opinion that the real interrelationship between the Old World and the New throughout this period was in ideas, intellectual currents, and Republicanism rather than in commerce. Professor Bemis remarked that the three papers demonstrated that public opinion was unimportant in England and France but that it was important in America, while Mr. Heaton challenged the validity of seeking public opinion.

A wide sweep of territory was covered in the papers and ensuing discussion on French constitutional development. Henry B. Hill of the University of Kansas City, Missouri, speaking on "French Constitutionalism: Old Regime and Revolutionary," distinguished two major factors in the pre-Revolutionary political system—the centralized bureaucracy and "a collection of relatively democratically managed corporations existing as a cushioning medium between the people and the sovereign, tempering but never weakening his authority." The *parlements*, as restored by Turgot, and the particularistic municipalities served to check arbitrary royal power, while the privileges of the aristocracy acted as a counterpoise for the bureaucracy. The resulting "stalemate and frustration," Dr. Hill contended, when made doubly pressing by impending bankruptcy, "produced the vacuum into which the writings of the *philosophes* surged." With the abolition of the agencies of the Old Regime monarchy, the radical ideas of the later *philosophes* appeared to have triumphed, but the centralized bureaucracy was gradually recreated "under the searing heat of war." The speaker furthermore called attention to the emergence of a kind of ministerial responsibility on the part of the Committee of Public Safety to the National Convention. Interpreting the constitution of the 1870's as a combination of centralized administration and "sensitive parliamentarianism," Dr. Hill vouchsafed the prediction that "any innovation in future which departs from either of these twin pillars of the French political order will be ushered in only by a drastic alteration of the country's foreign and domestic traditions far more violent than occurred in 1789."

In the second paper, entitled "Constitutionalism and the Third French Republic," John A. Scott of the Social Science Research Council analyzed similarities in the French and English constitutional regimes as of 1875 and undertook to explain why France did not evolve a "system of coherent political parties on the English model." While the constitutional laws of the Third Republic were the result of compromise between opposing factions, a splintering of parties soon occurred, which, the speaker contended, "had no small influence in intensifying those ailments to which the country finally succumbed." Mr. Scott advanced the hypothesis that social and political conditions affecting peasants, urban workers, and businessmen prevented the evolution of strong coherent parties of the Right and Left and that as a result the "cabinet executive remained weak and provisional, and France was governed by the ever-shifting coalitions of parliamentary groups."

The discussion produced conflicting views and stimulated an active participa-

tion from the floor. Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College, in commenting on Dr. Hill's paper, emphasized the opposition between the nobility and the bourgeoisie in the early phases of the Revolution and bridged the gap between the papers by a survey of certain political features of the period from 1815 to 1875. Rudolph A. Winnacker of the Historical Division, War Department, took issue with Mr. Scott's contention that France was politically weakened by the lack of a strong Labor party on the English pattern. He defended ministerial changes as a "safety-valve" and asserted that the overemphasis on French instability stemmed primarily from conservative critics.

Paul Farmer of the University of Wisconsin agreed with Mr. Scott that instability was a real problem affecting efficiency and the ability to make rapid, firm decisions. He maintained, on the other hand, that there is at present a tendency towards a two-party system, that of the Left being particularly strong. Professor Farmer concluded with the observation that while the Third Republic had known constitutional turmoil, the period after 1890, particularly, had been marked by steady social development and a wider political participation. Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch, Doyen de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Politiques de l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes de New York, closed the formal discussion. He observed that there was essentially a two-party system during the first fifteen years of the Third Republic—the parties supporting the Republic, and those opposing it. The operation of the French system of election, with two successive votes, produced a Right and a Left bloc. Beginning with 1936, in the opinion of the speaker, a change occurred for the worse, introducing greater instability. Although the Left bloc won at elections, the coalition soon disintegrated in parliament, and led to continual bargaining. M. Mirkine deplored the recent adoption of proportional representation without two parties, as a departure from French tradition and dangerous for the future.

"Anti-Clericalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe" was the theme of a joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association, held on Sunday afternoon at Fordham University. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, presided. The two major papers were presented by Professor S. William Halperin of the University of Chicago, who spoke on Italian anticlericalism, and the Reverend Leo L. Rummel, O. Praem., of St. Augustine's Priory, Madison, Wisconsin, who discussed anticlericalism in the Third French Republic, particularly in relation to the religious orders. Professor Halperin emphasized the efforts of the anticlericals in the Italian parliament to put through restrictive laws against the church but showed that in the main their attempts ended in failure to change the laws of Italy on such issues as jurisdiction over marriage, divorce, and religious instruction in the elementary schools. Father Rummel outlined the more successful efforts of the French anticlericals in their legislative program against the religious orders. The discussion period was opened by Father Joseph H. Brady of Seton Hall College, who was followed in turn by Crane Brinton of Harvard University

and Father Joseph N. Moody of Cathedral College, New York City. At the end of the session the members of the two associations were the guests of Fordham University at a tea served in Keating Hall.

The feature of the Economic History Association's luncheon conference on December 27 was an address by Dr. Hans Staehle of Cambridge, Massachusetts, entitled "New Light upon Prussian Economic and Social Policy in the Early Nineteenth Century." Dr. Staehle examined in turn Stein's motives in fostering the fundamental reforms of 1807-1808, the "paradox" of the guild reforms of 1810-1811, the commercial policy which led up to the Zollverein, and the role of the Prussian government with respect to the railroads. The speaker advanced evidence in each case to support the view that official policy was influenced more by a desire to increase the political strength of the Prussian state than by the laissez-faire doctrines of the Manchester school. In summary, Dr. Staehle questioned whether there can be "except in matters of emphasis, anything like an independent, or even a quasi-independent, economic history; or indeed, whether there really can be any *economic* history at all." In the case of Prussia in the first half of the nineteenth century, he submitted that "it is futile to explain economic and social policy in economic terms alone." The celebrated Prussian liberalism of the Stein-Hardenberg period, he concluded, "was nothing but a tool of that ever-present goal of Prussian and Prussian-German policy—'*Machtpolitik*.'"

The luncheon conference of the modern European history section is by now a well-established and cherished institution at the annual meetings. This year's speaker, Oscar Halecki of Fordham University, delivered a polished, extemporaneous address on "New Interpretations of Modern European History" which evoked widely favorable comment. Professor Halecki contended that historians have sought to explain major international developments too narrowly in terms of "big-power politics" and thus have frequently neglected the important roles played by smaller nations. He furthermore challenged the present tendency in history teaching to make the term "modern history" cover everything from the sixteenth century to the daily news. The speaker urged a more general use of the distinction between "modern" and "contemporary" history and suggested the outbreak of World War I as a logical point of division.

Six sessions, in addition to the previously mentioned meeting on "Old and New World Outlooks," dealt with aspects of American history prior to the twentieth century. Of particular interest to specialists in American legal history was the Saturday morning session entitled "The Historian Views the Law-in-Action," presided over by Francis S. Philbrick of the University of Pennsylvania and the retiring chairman of the committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund. Pointing to the publications of the American Historical Association and to recent monographic studies, H. Clay Reed of the University of Delaware noted that the importance of court records to the social historian is at long last receiving proper recognition. Generalizing from material in the Delaware Valley area, he pointed to the differ-



ence in character between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century court records, the latter often consisting of mere formal dockets, for which calendaring or micro-filming rather than full reprinting seems the logical plan. The sheer bulk of eighteenth century records becomes an obstacle to their adequate use, Dr. Reed declared. He cautioned that the historian needs at all times to have the court records at hand to check on the enforcement of statutes.

Susie M. Ames of Randolph-Macon Woman's College demonstrated how the records of Accomack and Northampton Counties in Virginia mirrored the social and economic life of that area. Enlightening examples were offered to illustrate such miscellaneous social and economic problems as contemporary pronunciation and reading lists, the status of women, the attitude of the colonists toward the mother country, and the growth of business enterprise. Significant data was adduced showing that Virginia's Eastern Shore was by no means restricted to tobacco monoculture on the eve of the Revolution but that shipments of corn and oats to New York and the West Indies were increasingly important.

In the discussion which followed, George L. Haskins of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, emphasized the importance of English local, manorial, and inferior court patterns in shaping early American law, which deviated in important respects from the common law of the central courts of England. John T. Farrell of Catholic University, stressed the point that eighteenth century records, when properly supplemented by file papers and by reference to collateral materials, are richly revealing of colonial life. Cases from the files of the Rhode Island Court of Equity were cited to show their bearing on the West Indian trade, privateering, and the extraordinary mobility of Rhode Island business enterprise.

Dumas Malone of Columbia University opened the joint session with the Southern Historical Association with a paper outlining some of the problems encountered in studying Thomas Jefferson's public career. He emphasized the importance of understanding Jefferson's personality in terms of the pre-presidential period, before he became a controversial figure. Pointing to the seeming paradox that Jefferson was at once a democrat and a libertarian, a slaveowner and an aristocrat, the speaker concluded that the Virginian was nevertheless no alien in his environment but simply the outstanding representative of a whole genus of Virginia planters. Although a thoroughgoing radical in thought, Jefferson did not have the temperamental qualities of the reformer, according to Professor Malone. In action he was no more revolutionary than many other planters and he could best be described as an "enlightened liberal." The most controversial facet of his career was his governorship; but Professor Malone stressed the little-appreciated fact that Jefferson's conduct as governor did not gravely lower his prestige in Virginia at the time of the Revolution, and was not seriously brought into question until he became the center of national political controversy in the Federalist period. The speaker accepted the common criticism that Jefferson was often not forthright, but attributed this characteristic to Jefferson's unusual sensitivity, his hatred of



acrimony, and his desire to soften antagonisms, rather than to the penchant for "deviousness" of which the Virginian has often been accused.

The second paper, entitled "Party Politics in the Old Southwest in Adams' and Jefferson's Administrations," was presented by William B. Hamilton of Duke University. Professor Hamilton's thesis was that the mechanisms of politics can best be understood in terms of local and particular issues, rather than in terms of broad generalizations or ideologies. He illustrated this thesis in the Adams-Jefferson period with detailed reference to Mississippi politics. There the central fact was that men were hungry for offices, partly as a source of influence and of extra capital for investment in land and slaves. Party lines and class lines were loose and intermingled, but family ties and purely personal animosities were important.

On Saturday afternoon a capacity audience in the grand ballroom was treated to a display of intellectual pyrotechnics when Joseph Dorfman of Columbia University and Thomas P. Govan of the University of Virginia subjected certain concepts in Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr.'s *Age of Jackson* to critical analysis. Professor Dorfman contended that the accepted thesis of a "substantial movement of eastern wage earners, led and inspired by the radical anticapitalistic elements among Jackson's supporters," was based on inadequate evidence. He held that the little information available about the so-called "workingmen" movements and parties reveals that they were primarily concerned with business-financial ends rather than with matters of immediate concern to the wage earners. He called for a thorough re-examination of the entire question of labor and radicalism in the Jacksonian period. Students had failed to distinguish between monetary and labor reform, the speaker declared, and had failed to appreciate the broad meaning of the term "workingmen" as used in that period. Professor Dorfman suggested that the radical Jacksonian movement was "antiaristocratic rather than anti-capitalistic," that it viewed government—or rather too much of it—as the great source of aristocracy and monopoly. On the level of the conception of the economic system and social organization, there is, he maintained, no significant connection between Jacksonian radicalism and the radicalism of our own day. However, there is, Professor Dorfman concluded, a cultural and psychological bond in that the Jacksonian movement "cherished . . . a sense of protest against privilege and invidiousness."

Professor Govan then took up the cudgels for Nicholas Biddle and the Second Bank of the United States. He declared that the bank, if left alone, would have conducted its affairs in a conservative and impartial manner and provided a central banking system (along the lines of the Bank of England) so essential to the financial and commercial needs of the community. Favoring centralization of banking and joint private-public control, the speaker compared the Second Bank of the United States to the Federal Reserve System.

In a spirited reply to both his critics, Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., attacked Professor Dorfman's summaries of certain "labor" spokesmen, contending that

the term "anticapitalist" as used in his volume meant *against certain capitalists* not against the capitalist system. These radical leaders, he maintained, were radical in the sense that they opposed the political aspirations of the business community. Drawing analogies from the Russian Revolution and the New Deal, the speaker asserted that working-class movements are customarily led by intellectuals and members of the bourgeoisie. Professor Schlesinger concluded that the age of Jackson and the New Deal were comparable in terms of basic objectives rather than in the distribution of political power. Turning to Professor Govan's thesis, Mr. Schlesinger denied that the Second Bank of the United States was impartially managed, refused to accept the view that centralized credit control in America would have avoided depressions in the nineteenth century, and asserted that any resemblance between the government's participation in the Federal Reserve System and the Biddle Bank was strictly coincidental. He charged Mr. Govan with failing to appreciate the fact "that concentration in private hands of control over the credit is an anomaly in a democracy."

Leland D. Baldwin of the University of Pittsburgh emphasized the point that the Jackson "revolt" was in fact a return to the past, a victory for Little Property against Big Property, in which the victors did not intend to kill capitalism. He concluded with the thought that we are possibly passing out of the age of Little Property versus Big Property into an era of No Property versus Property.

Under the general title "Neglected Aspects of American Intellectual History" papers were presented by Thomas C. Cochran of New York University and Donald L. McMurry of Russell Sage College at the joint meeting with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on Saturday morning. Professor Cochran stressed the importance of bringing to light "the hard core of American intellectual development"—the concepts, attitudes, and motives of the business leaders "who shaped America to suit the needs of expanding industrialism." To cope with the special difficulties of collecting and organizing material, he proposed a general plan of procedure, involving the selection of an industry suitable for research, the determination of sampling methods, and the setting up of fruitful categories of investigation. The plan was elaborated by specific reference to the thinking of railroad businessmen from 1840 to 1890.

Professor McMurry illustrated some of the possibilities of applying Dr. Cochran's plan by a study of "Some Ideas of the Burlington Management in the 1880's." Drawing his material principally from the Burlington archives and the Charles Elliott Perkins papers, the speaker analyzed the views of Perkins and, to a lesser extent, John Murray Forbes, regarding government regulation of private enterprise, competition, railroad rates, labor unions, and "sentiment" in business. Both were ardent disciples of Adam Smith and advocates of the economic implications of the "survival of the fittest." Perkins, in particular, Dr. McMurry concluded, had worked out "a consistent scheme of principles . . . based upon individualism and the acceptance of an extreme form of laissez faire theory."

In opening the discussion, Arthur H. Cole of Harvard University cautioned that economic events do not fully account for the actions of business leaders and that motives must also be sought in their personal backgrounds and relationships. He also raised the question of how far men like Perkins were representative of their less vocal contemporaries. Professor Gates denied that Perkins was consistent in his laissez-faire attitude and pointed to his approval of land grants, the use of federal troops, tariffs and federal expenditures for internal improvements.

Those who gathered for the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on Friday evening heard Colonel Edward N. Wentworth, director of Armour and Company's live stock bureau, speak on "Meat for the Western Explorers and Immigrants." After describing the methods of preserving meat used by Indians, explorers, and fur traders in the Great Plains and mountain regions, Colonel Wentworth emphasized the importance of dried meat, especially pemmican, which became so essential a staple to the fur traders that it caused the "Pemmican War" in the Red River Valley between the Hudson Bay and Northwestern Fur Companies from 1814 to 1821. Explorers and immigrants crossing the Great Plains relied principally upon bacon for an emergency meat ration, the speaker declared. It was the western migration, he added, which provided Philip D. Armour with his first market for bacon, ham, and salt pork. Turning to the story of the live animals which accompanied western expeditions from the time of DeSoto, Colonel Wentworth remarked that experience in supplying the Army during the Mexican War demonstrated that sheep could be driven across the semiarid plains more successfully than cattle. Shortly thereafter, flocks of sheep were driven from New Mexico to the gold fields and, subsequently, from the Mississippi Valley to California.

"Agriculture in Periods of Change" was the theme of the joint session with the Agricultural History Society on Monday morning. J. Orin Oliphant of Bucknell University presided. Hugh M. Flick, of the New York State Division of Archives and History, examined Elkanah Watson's efforts to improve early nineteenth century American agriculture by encouraging county agricultural societies, lobbying for state and national legislation, experimenting with new crops and animal husbandry, and advocating better transportation. Watson's philosophy of political economy, according to the speaker, was characterized by a belief in national self-sufficiency, implemented by paternalistic aid to agriculture.

James C. Bonner of Georgia State College for Women outlined significant progressive trends in Southern agriculture from 1840 to 1860. Pointing out that the southeastern cotton belt was experiencing serious soil exhaustion and emigration by 1840, the speaker described the efforts of agricultural leaders to bring about a reversal of the traditional frontier ratio between the value of land and the cost of labor through use of grasses, crop rotation, and improved livestock. In the cotton industry, a scheme of cotton control was advanced as early as 1844 identical in philosophy and administration to that of the New Deal of the 1930's. Professor

Bonner maintained that the movement for Southern agricultural reform, which began with a censorious attitude toward slavery and the plantation system, returned somewhat reluctantly to an emphasis on cotton and to an aggressive attitude on slavery with the crystallization of secessionist sentiment in the late 1850's.

In the third paper of the program, Theodore Saloutos of the University of California at Los Angeles discussed "Agriculture and the Emerging Industrial Era." Reviewing the economic and political factors which left agriculture with a disproportionately small share of the national income, he concluded that agricultural America became affected by forces beyond its control in direct ratio to the advance of industrialization. In summary, Professor Saloutos stated his belief that the problem of diagnosing and prescribing for our agricultural ailments cannot be considered separately from the problems of the rest of the economy.

In the final paper, on "The American Farmer and the 'Last Best West,' 1900-1920," Paul F. Sharp of the University of Minnesota analyzed the great land rush into the Canadian West in the first two decades of the present century. Over a million Americans were involved, taking with them a great fund of agricultural capital. The speaker advanced the thesis that the idea of the "passing of the frontier" is placed in a different chronological perspective by adopting the continental, as compared with the narrowly national, viewpoint on western settlement.

The luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society was held immediately after the adjournment of the joint session. Mr. Edward E. Everett of the Department of Agriculture introduced E. Parmelee Prentice, of Williamstown, Massachusetts, who spoke on "The World's Past and Present Needs in Relation to Agriculture." Mr. Prentice stressed the improper balance between food supply and population as the major crisis of the twentieth century and asserted that the maintenance of world peace is inseparably linked with the solution of this fundamental problem.

## II

As might be expected, the unfinished business of the past twenty-five years occupied a prominent place on the scholarly agenda of the Association's first post-war program. Eight sessions were devoted to problems briefly preceding or directly arising from the recent conflict.

The joint session with the Economic History Association, meeting Saturday afternoon under the chairmanship of Walter Stewart of the Institute for Advanced Study, dealt with aspects of "America's Share in the International Collapse, 1920-1939." A "Prelude to the Economic Conference of 1933," presented by Herbert Feis of Washington, D.C., described how officials of the Hoover administration strove against heavy odds to establish a continuum on international economic policy with the incoming administration. Mr. Feis showed how the United States position on the currency shifted from the idea that Britain might pledge sterling

stabilization in exchange for debt reduction to a proposal for setting a new gold value for the major currencies maintained through a joint fund, and on into Roosevelt's temporary abandonment of international monetary stabilization. Taking up events after the 1933 conference, Jeannette P. Nichols of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, traversed "The Route to the Tripartite Agreement of 1936," describing the futile efforts of France to get Britain and the United States to return to an inflexible monetary policy, as a means to save her from currency depreciation. Mrs. Nichols showed how the United States led in persuading Britain to help facilitate franc depreciation through triple announcements of an intention to avoid currency warfare, indicating that although the 1936 agreement lacked substance it became one of the links in the chain of events leading to the 1946 fund. August Maffrey, vice-president of the Export-Import Bank, commenting on the two papers, noted that the credit machinery for supporting international currency arrangements was lacking in the 1936 pact but was provided eight years later in the Bretton Woods document. Seymour Harris in comment stressed the compelling reasons behind abandonment of the gold standard and described the International Monetary Fund as an instrument for regulation of fluctuations, rather than for rigid stabilization.

Materials drawn from the Morgenthau "Diary" and an interpretation of the political significance of Huey Long featured the session on "Some Aspects of the New Deal," at which Louis M. Hacker of Columbia University served as chairman. In a paper which attracted considerable newspaper attention in this country and abroad, Jonathan Grossman of the College of the City of New York briefly described the general character of the "Diary" of nearly nine hundred volumes compiled by Henry Morgenthau, jr., during his association with the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. Utilizing data drawn from that collection, Dr. Grossman proceeded with an analysis of the strategy and tactics involved in the New Deal grain and gold buying programs of 1933-1934. Rooseveltian quips and the interplay of personalities highlighted the presentation.

In the second paper, "Huey Long and the New Deal," Basil Rauch of Barnard College contended that historians have stood by while journalists and novelists have been creating a hero-legend around the career of the "Kingfish." Available source materials point to the conclusion, Dr. Rauch asserted, that Long was out-generated by Roosevelt on the "share-the-wealth" program and eliminated as a serious contender for a third-party nomination prior to his assassination.

In discussion from the floor, Dr. Broadus Mitchell declared that, with the world off the gold standard, the New Deal gold-buying program was of little importance and the wheat program resulted in dumping abroad in contravention of reciprocal trade agreements.

The Hon. Henry Morgenthau, jr., was prevented by illness from delivering his scheduled address on "The Papers of a Cabinet Officer" at a luncheon which was to have followed the session.

Crossing the Atlantic and moving into the postwar period, the next session to be noted is that on "France since the Liberation," with Donald C. McKay of Harvard University as chairman. The first paper, by John E. Sawyer, also of Harvard, combined a narrative of events with appraisal of their significance. Mr. Sawyer described the provisional period, which followed the meeting of DeGaulle and the Resistance heads at Paris in August, 1945, as unexpectedly moderate, rather than revolutionary as at earlier periods in French history. This he attributed in part to the presence of the Allied armies and the decision of the Soviet Union not to break the war alliance, but even more to the nature of the Resistance movement and the figure of DeGaulle. In the year following liberation the united front split over the major problems of the future of the Resistance movement, economic recovery and reform, and the constitution of the Republic. Although no Commune or Gaullist dictatorship had occurred, Mr. Sawyer concluded that a struggle between the MRP and the Communists was inevitable.

The second paper, "Government by the Parties: The Renewal of Parliamentary Conflicts, 1945-1946," presented by John B. Christopher of the University of Rochester, provided a summary of the actual events in the confused succession of elections, coalition governments, and party conflicts. After analyzing the constituency and development of the Communist party, the MRP, and the Socialists, Mr. Christopher discussed the role played by each in creating the compromise constitution finally adopted. In summary, he predicted the continuance of a divided France, with the cleavage moving to the Left. "This shift reflects, in part," he declared, "the leftward trend of voting by the hard-pressed groups with a relatively fixed income. It represents, above all, the intrusion into domestic politics of the great postwar international issue—Russia."

David H. Pinkney of the University of Missouri gave the concluding paper on "Structural Reforms in the Economy: Nationalization of Key Industries." Noting a long record of government ownership of industry in France even prior to the twentieth century, he reviewed the broad but vague program of nationalization embodied in the "Charter of Resistance" of March, 1944. Following liberation, nationalization became a major cause of party strife, with opinion divided on the specific industries to be nationalized. The speaker summarized the progress of nationalization so far and observed that it fell short of the program of the Left. This he ascribed to growing opposition from the Center and Right parties and to a cooling of the enthusiasm for nationalization felt during the occupation and liberation when resentment against economic collaborators was strong. Mr. Pinkney concluded by emphasizing the orderly and democratic procedure of the socialization process.

The discussers, finding much to praise in the papers, took issue at the same time with certain points of emphasis. Leo Gershoy of New York University, commenting on Mr. Sawyer's paper, questioned the Leftist character of the Resistance and pointed out that only a minority of the population was engaged in the



movement. Speaking of Mr. Christopher's paper, Crane Brinton of Harvard University stressed the fact that both the MRP and the Communists were coalitions in themselves and that there was in reality a five-party alignment in France. Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University challenged the implication in Mr. Pinkney's paper that nationalization necessarily constituted progress and elaborated on some of the factors of finance and personnel that have tended to retard the nationalization program.

Two papers were devoted to the problem of "Germany's Position in Europe: The Present in Historical Perspective." In the first, entitled "'Mitteleuropa'—the Final Stage," Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr College pointed out that World War II had demolished long-held German aspirations for the organization and control of the central area of Europe. The speaker traced the origins and development of the idea of *Mitteleuropa*—"the idea that it was Germany's task to organize and lead the central area of Europe"—and sought to evaluate the influence of this concept on German foreign policy. While acknowledging that its advocates were well represented in the Nazi governing clique, Professor Gilbert held that "it is doubtful that *Mitteleuropa* was ever a serious and definite aim of Hitler's own foreign policy," which extended to "nothing less than the establishment of absolute German domination over Europe by defeating East and West. . . ."

The second paper, on "Eastern and Western Orientation in Recent German Politics," was presented by Carl E. Schorske of Wesleyan University. Professor Schorske observed that while German political life today is dominated by an "overwhelming" Western orientation, it does not follow that Western orientation and democracy are one and the same thing. The middle class have turned to the West, he declared, because only thus can they "ward off the Soviet danger and achieve control of the machinery for German reconstruction." Christian Democracy, he added, is "not an immutable faith . . . but an instrument to be cast away when it has served its purpose." Professor Schorske concluded that the Social Democratic party, "the only party of doctrinaire democracy," is threatened with eclipse as German society "becomes increasingly polarized around the issue of reconstruction under capitalism and the western aegis, versus reconstruction under socialism and the Soviet Union."

Commenting on Mr. Schorske's paper, Eugene N. Anderson of the Department of State contended that while international relations were profoundly important for Germany's present internal affairs, the major concern of German groups lay in Germany rather than in attempts toward an Eastern or Western orientation. Hajo Holborn of Yale University expressed substantial agreement with the views presented by the speakers, but regretted that the relation of the Polish problem to the general subject had been largely overlooked.

"The Russian Movement toward Open Water" was the topic of a Friday morning session presided over by Robert J. Kerner of the University of California.



In presenting his analysis of the movement toward the Baltic, David J. Dallin of New York City showed how Russian negotiations with the other great Baltic power, Germany, were dominated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the concept of a sea closed to nonriparian states and under as much Russian influence as the political situation allowed. In the late thirties the realization of a *mare clausum*, with a balance of power between Russia and Germany, again became the aim of Russian policy. The regaining of the Baltic states, Mr. Dallin asserted, became incidental to this policy and a preliminary objective. With the German defeat, the *mare clausum* objective was reinterpreted in terms of domination rather than balance of power. The speaker outlined some of the important developments resulting from the new Soviet supremacy in the Baltic and concluded by noting that recognition by the Western powers of the annexation of the Baltic republics remains an outstanding problem.

In the second paper of the session, Cyril Black of Princeton University emphasized the continuity of Russian strategic objectives in southeastern Europe over the past two centuries. The present regime, like its predecessor, has sought to stabilize the frontier and to exert pressure through the Balkans with the purpose of promoting Russian interests at the Turkish Straits. The chief difference, according to Professor Black, is to be found in the fact that the Soviet Union seeks to obtain a "maximum adoption of Communism as a prerequisite of Russian friendship."

Philip Mosely of Columbia University, in opening the discussion, stressed the fact that the Scandinavian countries are looking to the United Nations for security. The straits and the Kiel Canal, he felt, have lost much of their strategic importance with the development of air power and the guided missile, though he conceded that possession of the straits would be necessary in any attempt to break up or absorb Turkey. Max Laserson of Columbia University criticized Mr. Dallin's neglect of the earlier Russian efforts at expansion toward open water in the reigns of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great. He also laid emphasis on the continuing effects of geographic and economic factors on Russian Baltic policy. Robert Lee Wolff of Cambridge, Massachusetts, pointed out that a secret agreement of 1944, to which the United States was not a party, provided that Bulgaria was to be in the Soviet sphere and Greece in the British.

A mixed panel of legal scholars and historians grappled with the problem of "Criminal Responsibility for Aggressive War" at a Monday afternoon session presided over by William C. Chanler of New York City. Herbert Wechsler of the Columbia Law School presented a searching analysis of the issues of the Nuremberg trial. History, he insisted, will ask whether the defendants were justly condemned or acquitted. After reviewing the evidence at the trial and the rulings of law made by the court, he defended the results as fair and logical.

Addressing himself to the question of how the precedent of the Nuremberg trial can be used to create the foundations of permanent peace, Philip C. Jessup of Columbia University observed that fifty-four states are now on record as approv-

ing the principle upon which the trial was predicated. The resolution of the United Nations Assembly directing the committee on codification of international law to include in its formulation of an international criminal code the principles recognized in the charter of the Nuremberg Trial and in the judgment of that tribunal has, in his opinion, the binding force of a treaty. The trial of the war criminals, Professor Jessup asserted, involved the rejection of the theory that the state itself is guilty and can be punished for waging aggressive war. Advance restraints should operate against aggressive states, he maintained, while punishment after the event should be visited upon individuals and not upon the group. Summing up, he declared that the states of the world have now relinquished their historic freedom to wage war for the vindication of what they unilaterally assert are their rights and international law has now been brought home to the individual criminal aggressor. Supplementing the remarks of Professors Wechsler and Jessup, Clyde Eagleton of New York University observed in discussion that it is always those who have upheld the law who make the law. He expressed his endorsement of the application of international law to individuals.

Dewitt C. Poole of Harvard University then proceeded to describe the archival situation in Germany at the end of World War II. The most important German archives fell to the United States and Britain, he observed, and there was insufficient time for the enemy to tamper with the documentary material. In addition to studying the documents, the allied authorities interrogated many prisoners, and the results of these interrogations are being abstracted for the record. Harold C. Deutsch, of the University of Minnesota, commenting on the practical problem of interrogating political and military leaders, compared the situation after World Wars I and II and pointed out that very few of the leading central European personages of World War I were interviewed prior to 1936. Both speakers agreed that the interrogators at the end of World War II frequently lacked historical background and therefore were ill-equipped to ask searching and useful questions. The competition among different federal agencies and departments in the gathering of German archives and in conducting investigations into German conditions was also cited by Professor Deutsch as a factor complicating the archival problem for the student of the recent conflict.

Policy making by the prewar and postwar rulers of Japan was examined at a Monday session under the chairmanship of G. Nye Steiger of Simmons College. In a paper entitled "Who Ruled Japan?" Lawrence K. Rosinger of Columbia University pointed out that while it is generally agreed that the military held a more powerful position in Japan than in any other leading country before the war, there has been a tendency to overlook the essential unity of aim between this group on the one hand and the great economic combines, the party leaders, the bureaucrats, and the emperor on the other. Differences among these elements, he maintained, were largely confined to such questions as distribution of power and timing of acts of aggression. Imperial expansion, Mr. Rosinger declared, provided

new opportunities for the *Zaibatsu* and the shift in emphasis from light to heavy industries in the war years 1937-1945 strengthened their domestic position as against small industry. The speaker described the institution of the emperor as the "keystone" of Japan's national structure and the unifying factor among the pre-war ruling groups. He concluded that no adequate basis exists for distinguishing between the military and the *Zaibatsu* in fixing the responsibility for aggression.

The second paper on "United States Occupation Policies in Japan" was presented by Hugh Borton of the Department of State. Dr. Borton traced the formulation of these policies by the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee and its subcommittee on the Far East prior to the Japanese capitulation. After setting forth considerations which led to the continuance of the Japanese emperor and administrative structure under the overall authority of the Allied supreme commander, he described the creation and operation of the eleven-nation Far Eastern Commission whereby "our policies in Japan ceased to be established unilaterally by us but came to be subject to the scrutiny of our allies. . . ." An extended discussion from the floor centered principally upon the advisability of supporting the emperor's status as the price of an early stabilization of conditions in Japan.

### III

The third general category of sessions discernible in the program comprised some eight meetings devoted primarily to problems of method and plans for research projects.

The Saturday morning joint session with the American Military Institute took the form of a symposium on method in the history of World War II. The first of the panel speakers, Hugh M. Cole of the Historical Division, War Department, stressed the problems of evaluating the oral testimony of witnesses and participants in combat operations. He concluded that historians, for want of systematic documentary sources, may have to rely at times on the hitherto suspect "accent of veracity." Frank Craven of New York University, historian of the Air Forces, directed attention to the necessity for collaboration among the historians of the several organizations involved in individual operations in order to counteract artificial departmentalization and to place each action in its larger setting.

Representing the Navy Department's historical program, Lt. Commander Henry Salomon, jr., emphasized the role of communications in modern naval warfare and the problems confronting the historian in interpreting dispatches paraphrased for security purposes or messages composed in the heat of action. Frederic C. Lane of the Johns Hopkins University and historian of the Maritime Commission, discussed the practical difficulties of historical research in an administrative atmosphere which judges all activity in terms of immediate utility. He concluded by urging historians in such circumstances to preserve the philosophical and humanistic purposes by which their work must eventually be justified.

Joel D. Thacker, historian of the Marine Corps, focused his remarks on the

problem of obtaining adequate and trustworthy source materials on combat operations for his particular branch of the service. The speaker attributed this deficiency to the belated organization of historical activities in the Marine Corps and to the Corps tradition which stresses action at the expense of the written word. Samuel E. Morison of Harvard University, the authorized historian of the Navy's combat operations, urged the desirability of a peacetime historical organization in the armed forces, capable of rapid expansion in the event of war. He concluded with a plea for the establishment of additional university chairs and courses in military history.

The formal discussion was followed by a lively round of comments and questions from the floor. It was urged that greater attention be given to the relations between military operations and the formulation of high strategic and political policy. Shepard Clough of Columbia University explained the work of the Social Science Research Council in recording the civilian phase of the war effort. Kent Roberts Greenfield, chief historian of the War Department, summarized the plans already under way in developing a peacetime historical organization in the various services.

"The Archivist and Records of International Government" was the theme of the joint luncheon conference with the Society of American Archivists. In a paper on "The Records of International Meetings," E. Wilder Spaulding, chief of the Division of Publications, Department of State, deplored the inadequate state of the records produced by the numerous international meetings "spawned" by World Wars I and II. The speaker outlined the essentials of good record-keeping which were needed to rectify the present situation, especially in the cases of multilateral diplomatic and nondiplomatic meetings. Dr. Spaulding noted the significance of the Pan American Union as a record center of international importance in the Western Hemisphere and endorsed the proposal that the United Nations play the part of the world's record keeper. Robert Claus, acting archivist of the United Nations, followed with a brief report on the origin, functions, and holdings of the United Nations Archives. He concluded by expressing the hope that the League of Nations records, still at Geneva, and the records of the UNRRA would eventually be added to the United Nations Archives.

A heavily attended session on Monday afternoon took under consideration the questions involved in the relation between the "Scholar and American Foreign Policy." E. Wilder Spaulding and Richard A. Humphrey of the State Department presented two formal papers and the presiding officer, Jeannette P. Nichols, called upon Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University, Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, and Luther H. Evans of the Library of Congress for discussion. Numerous comments and questions from the floor followed. Dr. Spaulding described in detail the advances made by the State Department since 1929 in publishing both documents and foreign policy news and in opening its archives to scholars down to 1932, a much later date than is permitted anywhere else. Dr. Humphrey de-

scribed the functions of the large number of scholars on the staff of the State Department who are doing the extensive research now available to those in the higher policy-making brackets. The speakers and discussers were unanimous in praising these advances but pointed out certain weaknesses. The documents are still long delayed; the quantity of the material has a forbidding quality which might be softened if more interpretive summaries were provided; and much of the research and careful reporting done in Washington and in the embassies abroad seems to be pigeonholed by the policy makers who are more guided by political expediency. Finally, it was emphasized that the current demand for economy might endanger much of this program of scholarship. Historians were urged to be ready to stress the vital need of continuing these services, since an enlightened foreign policy in a democracy depends upon an intelligently informed public opinion.

Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania conducted the proceedings at the Latin-American history session on Friday afternoon. Speaking on the subject of "British Investments in Latin America, 1913-1939," J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago showed the decline of these investments in the period under review, stated that the "speed of the decline has no doubt increased since 1939," and concluded with a brief analysis of the political and economic effects of this downward trend. David M. Pletcher of Knox College followed with a case study of "The Rise of American Capital and Technology in Northwest Mexico." The discussion of the two papers was led by Harry F. Jackson of Stephens College and Harold F. Peterson of the New York State College for Teachers at Buffalo, respectively. It was suggested in comment from the floor that consideration should have been given in the second paper to the important petroleum-producing area in northeastern Mexico.

"Past, Present, and Future Research Problems concerning Latin American Affairs" was the subject of a luncheon conference on Saturday. Miron Burgin of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, discussed the neglect of the field of economics and the difficulties of obtaining reliable sources of material and offered suggestions for future research. Richard F. Behrendt of Colgate University followed with a survey of the research of the last ten years in political science and sociology and the need for study in these fields. Professor Behrendt argued that the time is now ripe for the foundation of an Inter-American Social Science Institute for the investigation and publication of co-operative and individual enterprises on neglected phases of Latin-American social history and its allied fields.

A conference on research projects in Far Eastern history convened on Saturday morning under the chairmanship of John K. Fairbank of Harvard University. After extended discussion general agreement was expressed on the desirability of having some organization issue a mimeographed bulletin two or three times a year briefly summarizing the character and scope of research projects under way under university, institute, or government auspices. The representative of the American

Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, indicated the readiness of that body to undertake such a function. It was further suggested that scholars be encouraged to make known the progress of their research through articles in the professional periodicals.

The joint meeting with the American Association for State and Local History was held on Friday morning with William G. Roelker, director of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in the chair. Leon S. Gay, president of the Vermont Historical Society, read a paper on "A New Approach to Local Business History" which argued that it is not possible fully to understand American economic history until a study has been made of small business, hitherto much neglected by historians. Mr. Gay described the work being done by the Vermont Historical Society in encouraging the writing and publication of local business histories. E. L. Bogart of New York City, in leading the discussion, pointed out the importance of recording the histories of unsuccessful as well as successful business. Victor Hugo Paltsits described the activities of the New York Public Library in collecting business records.

The second paper was presented by Thurman S. Wilkins of the Historical Records Section, War Department, on "Histories of American Military Units, World War II." Focusing his remarks primarily upon the unofficial histories of National Guard units, Mr. Wilkins discussed the method of publication, financing, and distribution of these annals.

Two papers were presented on the subject of "New Techniques in Historical Research" at a Saturday morning session with Lawrence A. Harper of the University of California presiding. Vernon D. Tate of the National Archives, speaking on "Microphotography for Scholars," contended that although changes in microphotography are more important than the invention of printing, historians are far behind natural scientists in utilizing the new devices. He urged that courses in modern methodology be required of all students entering the historical profession. Murray G. Lawson of the College of the City of New York followed with a paper on "Mechanical Aids in Historical Scholarship," in which he described and illustrated the use of punch-cards and tabulating machines. Dr. Lawson emphasized that the growing mass of factual knowledge can be mastered only if historians are willing to employ such devices, especially where statistical problems are involved.

John Cox of the College of the City of New York and Louis Knott Koontz of the University of California at Los Angeles led the discussion. Comments from the floor included a summary of the vast microfilming projects now under way in European libraries. Donald C. Holmes, chief of the photoduplication service of the Library of Congress, described the work of his office and the facilities available for color reproduction.

"American and European Relationships in the School and College History Program" was the theme of the joint meeting with the National Council for the



Social Studies on Monday afternoon, Chester McArthur Destler of Connecticut College presided. The interrelationships of American and European history were examined in papers presented by Michael Kraus of the College of the City of New York and Goldwin Smith of the University of Iowa. These were followed by a discussion of the advantages and problems involved in presenting these interrelationships in school and college history programs. The speakers on this part of the program were Mary Latimer Gambrell of Hunter College, Richard E. Thursfield of the Johns Hopkins University, and Aileen Ross of Norwich Free Academy, Norwich, Connecticut.

The annual dinner with the presidential address on Saturday evening was as always the high point of the meeting. The grand ballroom of the Pennsylvania Hotel was filled and an overflow sat in the gallery to hear the program. Professor Thomas Cochran as chairman of the local committee introduced the presiding officer, Professor Charles H. McIlwain, former president of the Association. Professor McIlwain called upon Mr. Ford as executive secretary to announce the prize winners for the year and present them with their awards. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize was awarded to Dr. A. W. Salomone, of New York University, for his volume *Italian Democracy in the Making* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946) with honorable mention to Dr. A. J. Henderson, of MacMurray College, for his study *London and the National Government, 1721-1742* (Duke University Press, 1945). The John H. Dunning Prize went to Dr. David M. Ellis of Hamilton College for his *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850* (Cornell University Press, 1946) and honorable mention to Dr. Oscar Zeichner of City College, New York, for his manuscript "Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776." The Beveridge Memorial Fellowship was awarded to Dr. Arthur E. Bestor, jr., of Stanford University for his manuscript "Backwoods Utopias: Communitarian Socialism in America, the Religious and Owenite Phases." Mr. Ford then announced that due to the generosity of Mr. James Hazen Hyde the Association would award in 1948 the sum of \$1,000 for the best study on any phase of Franco-American relations or French political history in the nineteenth century.

In presenting its President to the Association, the toastmaster recalled his first and for him happy contact with Professor Fay. As a first year graduate student after some years in the unacademic world, he was struggling with English constitutional history under Professor Charles Gross. The graduate assistant who read and marked his paper was one Sidney B. Fay, whose generous bestowal of an *A* had set him toward the interests he had pursued for the rest of his life. President Fay's thoughtful address "The Idea of Progress" (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1947) was as well received when presented as it has been in printed form.

Columbia University

DWIGHT C. MINER



## The Year's Business, 1946

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR  
FOR THE YEAR 1946

The year 1946 closes with the Association in a sound and steadily improving position as to finances and membership. This is all the more noteworthy at the end of war years that might well have imperiled the activity, even the existence, of all learned societies and cultural agencies. Our membership has grown steadily during the last five years. In this regard 1946 is the best, with a net increase of 415 members giving us a total membership of 4,227. A membership of 5,000 is not an unreasonable goal to attain in the next few years. It can be reached with the continuing co-operation of the present membership. The gain this year is due in large part to the responses to a circular letter asking university and college teachers to suggest membership to their students. However, it is interesting to see from the scores of inquiries and the incoming checks from new members unattached to any institution how the appeal of the Association and the *Review* has widened to persons without professional interest in history. The possibilities here are infinite and have been only tentatively explored. Any member can help by supplying the central office with the names of such citizens, to whom an invitation to join will then be sent. Such an informal, every-member effort would supplement measurably the work now done by members of university staffs. The latter have deserved well of the Association. I refrain from mentioning names and institutions though some members and departments deserve a place on the honor roll.

This year's *Annual Report* will contain a directory of all members to December 1, 1946. In checking addresses we included, as never before apparently, life members. This had the startling result of showing that about a score in this group had died without anyone reporting, many of them several years ago and one as far back as 1935. In the meantime they had been carried on the subscription list of the *Review*. Among them were many who had contributed \$100 or more at the time of the canvass for the Beveridge Fund. Among the sixty-two deaths reported I would recall such veterans and distinguished members as Elbert Jay Benton, Henry E. Bourne, Victor Clark, Edwin F. Gay, Benjamin B. Kendrick, William T. Morgan, William A. Morris, Clarence Perkins, Louis Pelzer, and one of our honorary members, the distinguished Chilean scholar Domingo Amunátegui y Solar.

Membership and finances are closely related, for a considerable part of our annual income is derived from profits from the *Review*. The treasurer's report will reflect this. It is encouraging to note that this past year we were able to transmit to the trustees for investment the sum of \$10,000 from savings in addition to \$800 from new life members. Receipts from the latter are always added to the endowment fund. For almost anyone who does not have one foot in the grave a

life membership is a good investment. With present printing costs and present returns from investment the Association may have to consider the possibility of increasing the price of life membership. I can remember the cheerful days when it was only fifty dollars.

And now as the radio commentators say, "A word from our sponsor." In this case it is in the nature of a confession from your Executive Secretary who sponsors this report and a good many other things he has done in your name and on your behalf in the last five troubled years. Permit me to speak in the first person. I came into the office of executive secretary to carry and co-ordinate tasks that had been distributed in four separate centers and among as many individuals, each working with his particular task. This new deal in the Association's affairs started on the eve of a global war of undreamed of intensity and transcendent importance. The very freedoms and values for which we entered the lists might even be held in abeyance temporarily while we sacrificed to assure their survival. What that would mean to educational, scientific, and cultural institutions no one could foresee. Insistence upon their central importance if the war effort was to have any meaning or justification was a primary task. Not less essential was the task of seeing that they survived not simply as institutions but as preservers and purveyors of values grown precious through centuries that history and history alone records. It is within such a frame of reference, against such a background, that any group of scholars, especially historians, should define and pursue their special tasks in peace quite as much as in war.

What I have just said is not only background but an integral part of what in its details is a prosaic record. It is a record of economies and the limitation of expenditures for what were once normal activities. I have not called Council meetings except at annual meetings and then, until last year, wholly at the expense of members. The Executive Committee has been polled by mail more often than it has met. This is true also of the Board of Editors. With a long experience in educational administration it has seemed easy to me, perhaps too easy, to decide what seemed to me minor matters rather than accumulating them and delaying them in order to make business for meetings we could ill afford to hold at Association expense. In a degree the same responsibility and line of action was followed by committee chairmen who would gladly have conferred with their fellow members. In certain cases that has been a hardship. It was a hardship but not a catastrophe as their annual reports of the last few years show. Before I turn to the future in which economies and controls should be less necessary, it may be well to complete the record to date by summarizing the annual reports of your committees who carry on the Association's work quite as much as does the central office. As in the past the Association has had the faithful service of these committees and remains especially indebted to them and to their chairmen who carry the chief burden. As all reports from the committees will be published in full in the *Annual Report* I shall limit myself at this time to brief summaries.

The report of the Committee on Committees has been presented and acted upon by the Council and will be reported later for your information.

The *Committee on Honorary Members* through its chairman, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, has reported that it did not consider it advisable to nominate additional foreign members this year. It will be recalled that last year the Council approved the committee's recommendation that in general the total number of honorary members, if the distinction was to remain real, should not exceed fifteen. Of the honorary members elected at the last two meetings, two have died. Of the present twelve members, one is from Canada, one from Brazil, four from England, one from Norway, one from Denmark, one from France, one from Italy, one from Spain, and one from China. The two deceased honorary members are Domingo Amunátegui y Solar of Chile and Johan Huizinga of Holland. It is expected that the committee will profit this coming year from the information gathered by the chairman during his visit to Europe in 1947.

The Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize through its chairman, Professor J. Duane Squires, reports that its activity in publicizing the prize brought the submission of approximately twenty-five volumes. Its unanimous choice for the prize and the award of honorable mention will be announced at the annual dinner. (See p. 613 above.)

The chairman of the Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize, Professor Mitchell B. Garrett, reports that the number and character of the studies submitted did not warrant the committee in making an award this year.

Professor Reginald C. McGrane, chairman of the John H. Dunning Award Committee, reports that the committee made every effort by sending out circulars to departments of history. In the interest of young scholars in the armed forces the committee opened the competition to unrevised dissertations of outstanding quality. Although disappointed in the number of responses that their publicity brought, they were unanimous in their award of both the prize and of honorable mention. These will be announced at the dinner this evening.

The report of Professor Ragatz, chairman of the Committee on the *Annual Report*, calls attention to volumes that have appeared for 1944 and explains that the long-awaited volume for 1943, the *Writings on American History* for 1939 and 1940, a double volume, awaits only the consolidation of the index, a task Miss Griffin finds herself unable to complete. It is now being given this final touch by Mrs. Curtis W. Garrison on funds supplied by the Beveridge Committee, which asks to be released from any further obligations in connection with the *Writings*. The rise in printing costs since the volume went to the Government Printing Office will cut into future publishing projects. Dr. Ragatz' comments on the future of the *Writings* underline the task of the special committee appointed to consider this topic. It is hoped that the consolidated index to the *Writings* through 1938 will be completed this year by Mr. Matteson. The task has been herculean and Mr. Matteson has labored long and faithfully at it in the midst of other tasks. The costs of

printing what will presumably be a two-volume work may, when added to the costs of the missing volume (Griffin) for 1943 and the four volumes for 1945 now in press, make a total that will limit publication next year to the slim Volume I of each year's *Annual Report*.

The four volumes for 1945 comprise the usual formal official volume and a Volume II in three parts containing a collection of manuscripts entitled *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, translated and edited by Professor L. C. Kinnaird of the University of California. It is hoped to distribute them during this fiscal year. The official first volume will contain a list of members to December 1, 1946. The Superintendent of Documents will be urged to make offprints of this directory which goes cost free to less than fifty per cent of the members.

The whole report of Dr. Ragatz should be read when it appears, for it covers one of our important publishing services.

The chairman of the Committee on the Beveridge Memorial Fellowship, Professor A. P. Whitaker, reports a gratifying interest in the plan for the Beveridge Fellowship. Thirty-five applications and manuscripts were received. This lively response is, I am sure, due to the vigorous campaign of publicity carried on by the committee. All the applicants were residents of the United States and a great majority of the manuscripts related to United States history, a few to Latin America, and one to Canada. To quote the report, "They represented a wide range both of types and time—biographies, monographs, and works of synthesis and interpretation, dealing with one part or another of the period from the early seventeenth century to the present. The proportion of high-quality manuscripts was gratifyingly large for a first year . . ." The winner of the fellowship will be announced at the annual dinner. Following the previous commitments, the volume by Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories of the United States, 1861-1890*, is in press and although there have been delays it is expected that the volume will appear presently. Second printings have been made of two volumes: Easterby's *South Carolina Rice Plantation*, which is the last of the discontinued documentary series, and Bernstein's *Origins of Inter-American Interest*. The first came from the press of the University of Chicago and the Bernstein volume from the University of Pennsylvania Press, now the regular publisher for this committee. The finances of the committee are in excellent shape, showing an increase of over \$3,000 in the cash balance. This is due in large part to the royalties from the sale of two volumes—Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism* and Easterby's *South Carolina Rice Plantation*. The remainder of the report when printed will show you how carefully the committee is husbanding and managing its finances. Later in the meeting the chairman will make a further announcement as to the committee's plans.

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund, through its chairman, Professor Ray A. Billington, reports that its activities this past year have been concerned mainly with the procedures and ways and means to lighten its load and increase its efficiency. It has proposed for Council action a resolution defining some-

what more sharply the requirements for manuscripts submitted to it. The committee cannot in any one year publish more than one or two volumes. The manuscript by Professor Louis Hunter, "An Economic and Technological History of Steamboating on the Western Waters in the Nineteenth Century," has been somewhat delayed in publication but will appear from the Cornell University Press in 1947. The committee is in a position to announce that it will publish, when arrangements are completed, a volume by Margaret Hastings on "The Court of Common Pleas in the Fifteenth Century." It has one other manuscript under consideration. The committee has considered and will seek additional means of publicizing the volumes issued under its auspices. Their sale is essential to the reimbursement of the revolving fund.

The Littleton-Griswold Committee loses this year its capable and hard-working chairman, Professor Francis S. Philbrick of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Philbrick is retiring this year from his academic post and has asked to be relieved. He reports disheartening delays in the publication of the volumes arranged for the committee. Two are apparently making steady and satisfactory progress. The first, under the editorship of Professor John T. Farrell of Catholic University and Professor Zechariah Chafee of the Harvard Law School, will be devoted to "Minutes of the Rhode Island Court of Equity, 1741-1743." This promises to be a valuable addition to the series. The second volume in preparation is being edited by Professor Susie M. Ames of Randolph-Macon Woman's College and Professor Garrard Glenn of the University of Virginia. It will contain "Accomac County [Virginia] Court Records, 1632-1645." These two volumes should be ready for publication in 1948. Some progress has been made with other projected volumes, but the war has disrupted plans and led to the withdrawal of editors. It is hoped that it will be possible to revive and push forward certain of these projects that have been shelved temporarily. The final report shows that the fund has a balance of \$12,667.13.

The Committee on Government Publications has fully lived up to its responsibilities by following closely the publishing plans and activities of departments of the government. To this end the chairman, Mrs. Jeannette Nichols, has devoted many hours precious to her in the pursuit of her own researches. She finds but does not disapprove a growing tendency to make government publications explaining policies and problems especially in international matters less forbidding to the general reader and less documentary for the purposes of the scholar. They still remain something the scholar must use. The committee is concerned with the effect of possible sweeping economies upon the whole program of publications on the war and basic problems of peace. Later in this meeting its chairman will present pertinent resolutions for your consideration.

The Committee on the Watumull Prize makes no report this year as the next award of this prize will not be until 1948.

The Committee on Historical Source Materials with the approval of the chair-

man has been discharged by the Council. Three of its subcommittees will be retained as Council committees.

The Special Committee on the WPA Bibliography of American History, one of several that have been appointed on this topic during the last ten years, reports through its chairman, Professor Lester J. Cappon, to the same purport as its predecessors, namely, that the bibliography in its present form could not be completed for publication by any process of minor revision. It is ten years out of date and very uneven in its coverage and treatment of items because of the varying qualifications of the large staff of persons on relief from unemployment. There is a need for an annotated bibliography of American history which should be more selective and more critical than the WPA compilation. The labor and expense of trying to revise or use the WPA compilation to fill this need makes that approach prohibitively expensive. In asking for its discharge the committee recommends the appointment of a special committee charged with preparing a program for a systematic bibliography in the field of American history. In this connection it is proper to call the attention of the Association to the fact that the Council has set up a special committee to consider the future of the *Writings in American History*. The special committee suggested by Professor Cappon and his associates might well take up at the point where the committee on the Griffin bibliography leaves off or that committee be charged with considering this suggestion in relation to any recommendations on the *Writings*.

Dr. Conyers Read reports for the Radio Committee that the committee, with the continued co-operation of the National Broadcasting Company, including the services of Mr. Saerchinger, has put on an unbroken series of fifty-two Sunday evening broadcasts on "History behind the Headlines." It is the judgment of the chairman of the committee that "by reason of this happy co-operation between a commercial company and a learned society a steadily growing public is learning that a knowledge of their historical backgrounds can and does give a fuller understanding of the many bewildering phenomena that make up the world in which we live."

The delegates or representatives of the Association in various other learned and public organizations and activities have each made a report. In most cases this is to the effect that there has been either no activity or no change of policy. This is true of the American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies, the *American Yearbook*, and the National Parks Association Board.

Our senior representative to the American Council of Learned Societies, Professor Wallace Notestein, who retires this year, reports for himself and Professor de Kiewiet. He emphasizes, as would your Executive Secretary, who represents another association, the importance to all the humanities of the work of the American Council of Learned Societies. That body is in the process of rewriting its constitution in order to secure more continuing and effective co-operation between the body of scholars and the central office upon which in the



past far too great a burden has fallen. Professor Notestein points out that some such postwar readjustment would enhance the interest of the constituent societies and present to the foundations which support the Council a guarantee of effective use of the funds not so wholly dependent upon the wisdom and statesmanship of the executive office. Such wisdom and leadership have been given by the director in the past twenty years and as a result the Council has served outstandingly the purposes for which it was organized. With the retirement of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, who has been director throughout this period, the institution of a continuing advisory body becomes doubly important and the difficulty of filling Dr. Leland's place is becoming increasingly evident to those charged with that responsibility. Mr. Notestein outlines the essential features of the new constitution as presented at a special meeting of the delegates in Boston, September 20-21. There was a long and thorough discussion of its provisions. The requirement of the present constitution that changes could be made only by a two thirds vote of all delegates, whether present or not, called for thirty-two affirmative votes. Several delegates were absent and one declined to vote. The approving vote was thirty-one, one short of the necessary majority. The constitution has been referred to the executive committee for such revision as will meet any pertinent objections made to it. The name of our new delegate will be reported later along with other actions of the Council.

Dr. Waldo Leland, who with Dr. Shotwell represents us on the International Committee of Historical Sciences, of which he is also chairman, reports that that committee, quiescent during the war, expects to reorganize and resume at a meeting in Prague in the summer of 1947. It will have before it many difficult and delicate questions with regard to its own immediate membership and the membership of the International Congress for which it must make plans and set a date. It will need to consider also the possibility of relations and working arrangements with UNESCO. Dr. Leland is going abroad to investigate some of the problems here raised and to consider other and similar problems in connection with the International Union of Academies of which he is also president.

The report from *Social Education* submitted by Dr. Chester M. Destler is both encouraging and disturbing. On the encouraging side is the presentation of the rigid economies by which *Social Education* is reducing its annual deficit. On the debit side is the fact that Professor Erling Hunt, who has carried on as editor during the last ten years, has found it necessary to resign as of June 30, 1947. It is proper here, I think, to record the gratitude of the Association for Professor Hunt's services to the conduct of *Social Education*.

Our delegation to the Social Science Research Council composed of Roy F. Nichols, Merle Curti, and Shepard Clough, has been active on all the major committees of that organization. The SSRC, like the American Council of Learned Societies, is having some reorganization, and a new director, Dr. Donald Young, of Pennsylvania, succeeds Dr. Robert Crane. Although the activities of the Council are not along disciplinary lines many things that they have done or are doing are



of importance to our membership. The full report will reveal this. I mention here especially the completion, largely through the efforts of the history group, of Bulletin 54, entitled *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*. I quote from the report on the purpose of the book which was "to help clarify thought about philosophies of history, to prepare a basis for an understanding on issues common to all philosophies of history, and to point out some of the problems of historical study which have been encountered by American historians." I commend the volume to every member and especially to graduate students and their sponsors. The committee on war studies has set in motion the preparation of more than a score of monographs on various phases of the repercussion of the war upon American life. A committee on government records and research is concerned with archival matter and the declassification of more documents now also a project of the three research councils. The same organizations are co-operating in planning a history of the natural sciences in America, although the primary responsibility is assumed by the American Council of Learned Societies. Members of this Association in college and university positions should be interested in a forthcoming survey and appraisal of area studies prepared by Professor Robert Hall of Michigan at the instance of the SSRC. Further matters mentioned in Professor Clough's report for the delegation will appear in the published proceedings of the Association.

By appointment of its president the American Historical Association is represented by two members on the National Historical Publications Commission, a body set up in the law establishing the National Archives. Your representatives are Professor Dumas Malone of Columbia University and your Executive Secretary. This commission was maturing plans for the publication by the Library of Congress of a comprehensive edition of the papers of Abraham Lincoln and had drafted a report and recommendation to Congress on the subject. The project had a certain urgency from the standpoint both of scholarship and of the Library of Congress inasmuch as the Robert Todd Lincoln papers in the Library of Congress were to be opened to public examination in the summer of 1947. However, in the midst of necessary discussions the March, 1946, issue of the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* carried the announcement of a similar project by the Abraham Lincoln Association with headquarters in Springfield, Illinois. After discussion and on mutual agreement, and with assurances that the Springfield project was well financed and competently staffed, the National Historical Publications Commission and the Library of Congress withdrew. Two other projects previously approved by the commission have not been acted upon by Congress. The first was the publication by the National Archives of documents relating to the ratification of the Constitution and the first ten amendments, the second was the compilation and publication by the National Archives of the Zebulon Pike papers. For the present the second project is held in abeyance but the commission has reaffirmed its interest in the first and expressed the hope that the archivist at an appropriate time would seek authorization from Congress for its consummation. It is to be presumed that

in view of the present economy drive there will be delay in securing congressional approval.

This summary of committee reports may well conclude with a selection of the data on the *American Historical Review* prepared by the assistant editor, Miss Catharine Seybold. Volume LI contained eighty-five less pages than its predecessor. The difference lies largely in fewer reviews and book notices, a total of 342 as against 411 in Volume L. This decline reflects the decreased scholarly publication during war years. The number of articles and their distribution by fields remained in 1945-46 much as in the past. One article brought in more fan mail and requests for reprints than any article in recent years. The material published or under consideration is a selection with the aid of referees from sixty-one items (articles, notes and suggestions, and documents) as against a total of seventy-nine in the same categories in the preceding year.<sup>1</sup>

The overall picture this report presents is a basis for satisfaction but not, I hope, for complacency. Something of a divine discontent should pervade institutions if they are to be kept alert to current tasks and new opportunities. Our finances should permit in the future necessary meetings of important committees in which group one must include the Nominating Committee, the Committee on Committees, the Council, and the Board of Editors, and perhaps some of the committees on prizes who do not have their own endowed funds. It must be remembered in this connection that the geographical spread we seek in making up committees will be a factor in the expense and require a justification for meetings to do business that cannot be carried on effectively by correspondence. The hasty review I have given of committee work does not indicate that we have any inactive or unnecessary committees, but I have asked the Council to review the matter for there is nothing more permanent than a temporary committee set up to meet a passing need.

Our charter from Congress requires an annual report on the state of history in the nation. Part of that report has been rendered above. Some additional comment is called for by the commission given us in 1889. It will relate not only to history but to all the social sciences and to the humanities and to Congress itself as a factor in the future of these fields of scholarship in the nation.

At least three matters in the area of federal policy should be mentioned. The

<sup>1</sup> Volume LI of the *Review* (Oct., 1945-July, 1946) contains 832 pages, including an annual index of 28 pages, as compared with 917 pages in Vol. L. The total number of articles, notes and suggestions, and documents is 20, as compared with 18 in Vol. L. Vol. LI contains 148 reviews as against 199 in Vol. L, and 194 notices as against 212, a total of 342 as compared with 411 in Vol. L. During the period from Sept. 1, 1945, to Sept. 1, 1946, 61 articles, notes and suggestions, and documents were submitted. Of these 11 were accepted, 49 returned, and 1 is under consideration. Last year the overall figure was 79. Twelve major articles were published, including the presidential address. Of these, 5 are in the field of American history, 5 in European history, 1 in Far Eastern history, and 1 in medieval history. Of the 4 notes and suggestions published, 1 deals with American, 1 with European, 1 with diplomatic and 1 with medieval history. There were 4 documents published, 3 of which are in the field of American history, the 4th on Commodore Perry in the Far East.

first was alluded to in the summary of your Committee on Government Publications report. It is the danger that well-conceived plans for the history of the World War and its effects on American life may be crippled by ill-considered economies. Economy in postwar expenditures is justifiable and necessary but it is no economy to black out human experience and the lessons that a democracy can learn from its greatest national crisis. The substance of these is not how to make future wars but how to give our co-operative efforts as a people devoted to peace something of the effectiveness of our war effort.

The second matter of concern to historians and all social scientists is the present text of the so-called Science Foundation bill. As no final action and no appropriation was made by the last Congress, it will undoubtedly be reintroduced. The initiating committee with the President's approval had included the social sciences as fields which shared with the natural sciences, medicine, and public health in the proposed program of fellowships and grants-in-aid of research. The social sciences were stricken out by a sudden and unexpected move on the floor of the Senate. In other words if the same bill comes up and passes, the weight of the federal government and its funds will be thrown behind the physical and biological sciences and dependent technologies and the diversion by premiums of young talent into these fields. The seriousness of this step should not be measured in its relation to the interests of our group and cognate disciplines concerned with human conduct and group living. It can not escape any thoughtful observer of modern society that the fundamental problem of modern society is the strains produced by the ready acceptance by mankind everywhere of the application of science and technology while refusing to adjust government and social institutions to the changes such progress in science demands. We increase that strain and widen that gap at our peril. I do not need to labor the point to this audience and I could not express my own concern about it better than I did in 1933 in an address to Sigma Xi on "Science and Civilization."

The third federal program is already partially in operation. To secure trained personnel among Navy reserve officers the Navy has instituted competitive examinations on a nation-wide basis at high school level. Fourteen thousand top young men, the cream of the brains at that level, they hope, will compete for \$600 per year plus tuition, transportation, uniforms, and three summer cruises, to pursue a four-year college education fitting them for naval service, this to be followed by service training of fifteen months. After nearly six years of training, few of these selected and highly endowed young men will turn to scholarly careers of any kind. Naval aviation is carrying on a similar program. The Army and the Air Corps will soon present plans that will keep them in the race for exceptional young men. The programs of public health and the Veterans Administration touch more specialized groups outside the social sciences. Add to these the attractions in the present Science Foundation bill and the increasing efforts of great industries in the areas where they have always recruited and of civil service with increased salaries

and you get some faint idea of the intensified scramble for talented personnel by interests outside the circles of academic and scholarly pursuits. The results percentage-wise with the normal numbers of men in graduating classes as a base cannot be measured. If you take the Army and Navy programs alone and grant them success in their plans to choose at high school level the talented male students and then compare the numbers with the aggregate of all doctors of philosophy in any year you are in for a shock. Furthermore the uncertainties of private resources and the greater uncertainties of getting into crowded colleges as plain civilians give these service programs an added pull. Granted that the Army and Navy need top talent in an age of atomic fission and electronics, by the same token the nation needs even more for its tasks at home and abroad men and women of talent, trained in the social sciences and the humanities. How we are to enlist them against these odds and in the face of present salary scales in teaching at all levels is a national problem of unrecognized magnitude. I commend it to your attention as citizens. I can at least report that the President's Commission on Higher Education has initiated as one of its five studies, a survey of "the preparation, recruitment and status of faculty personnel."

This report is the last of my second three-year term as your Executive Secretary. I am happy that from the standpoint of the affairs of the Association I am able to couch it in such generally optimistic terms.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PENNSYLVANIA HOTEL,  
NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 26, 1946, 2:00 P.M.

Present: Sidney B. Fay, President; T. J. Wertenbaker, Vice-President; J. Salwyn Schapiro, Roy F. Nichols, Ralph L. Lutz, A. C. Krey, Councilors; William Linn Westermann, Carlton J. H. Hayes, former Presidents; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary; A. P. Whitaker, Chairman, Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee.

President Fay called the meeting to order.

Upon motion the minutes of the 1945 meeting of the Council and of the annual business meeting (which had been published) were approved without being read.

Mr. Ford gave his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor, which included a summary of the various committee reports. (See p. 616 ff. above.)

Mr. Buck presented the Treasurer's report, which was approved as passed by the Finance Committee except for one change.

Mr. Ford reported for the Committee on Committees and the following list was approved:

*Board of Trustees.*—W. Randolph Burgess, 55 Wall Street, New York City, chairman—term expires 1951; Thomas I. Parkinson, 393 Seventh Avenue,

New York City—term expires 1947; Shepard Morgan, 18 Pine Street, New York City—term expires 1948; A. W. Page, 195 Broadway, New York City—term expires 1949; Stanton Griffis, Hemphill, Noyes and Company, 15 Broad Street, New York City—term expires 1950.

*Board of Editors of the American Historical Review.*—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Managing Editor; A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota—term expires December, 1947; M. L. W. Laistner, Cornell University—term expires December, 1947; Thad W. Riker, University of Texas—term expires December, 1948; Curtis P. Nettels, Cornell University—term expires December, 1949; Lawrence H. Gipson, Lehigh University—term expires December, 1950; F. C. Dietz,\* University of Illinois—term expires December, 1951.

*Committee on Committees.*—Charles A. Barker, Johns Hopkins University—term expires December, 1947; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri—term expires December, 1948; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

*Committee on Honorary Members.*—Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; Raymond J. Sontag,\* Department of State.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—V. J. Puryear, 647 D Street, Davis, California, chairman; Clarence H. Matterson, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa; Paul H. Beik,\* Swarthmore College.

*Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—Leona C. Gabel, Smith College, chairman; C. V. Easum,\* University of Wisconsin; Sherman Kent, Yale University.

*Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon, chairman; Lawrence Harper, University of California; Bell I. Wiley,\* Louisiana State University.

*Committee on the James Hazen Hyde Prize.*—Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, chairman; Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago; John B. Wolf, University of Minnesota; Donald V. McKay, Harvard University; Robert Palmer, Princeton University.

*Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.*—Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives (ex officio); Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Philip Hamer,\* The National Archives.

*Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.*—Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College; Philip Davidson, Vanderbilt University.

*Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.*—Ray A. Billington,

\*New member this year.

Northwestern University, chairman; Samuel H. Brockunier, jr., Wesleyan University; Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Grace A. Cockroft, Skidmore College; Chester W. Clark, Iowa State University; George Howe,\* University of Cincinnati.

*Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Richard B. Morris, College of the City of New York, chairman; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey; Zechariah Chafee, jr., Harvard University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; George Haskins,\* University of Pennsylvania Law School; William B. Hamilton,\* Duke University.

*Committee on the Watumull Prize.*—Taraknath Das, New York City College, chairman—term expires December, 1947; Tyler Dennett, Hague, New York—term expires December, 1948; Robert L. Schuyler,\* Columbia University—term expires December, 1949.

*Committee on Business Records.*—Thomas C. Cochran, New York University, chairman; William D. Overman, Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio; Oliver W. Holmes, The National Archives; Lewis Atherton, University of Missouri; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Herbert O. Brayer, Colorado State Museum; Richard Overton, Northwestern University; Arthur H. Cole,\* Harvard University.

*Committee on Documentary Reproduction.*—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University; Milton H. Gutsch, University of Texas; Frank J. Klingberg, University of California, Los Angeles; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University; Louis Knott Koontz, University of California, Los Angeles; Troyer Anderson,\* Hunter College; Loren C. MacKinney,\* University of North Carolina; Lawrence A. Harper,\* University of California, Berkeley.

*Committee on Manuscripts.*—Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman; Lester J. Cappon, Colonial Williamsburg; Wendell H. Stephenson, Tulane University; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Howard Peckham, Indiana Historical Bureau; Francis English, Western Historical Manuscript Collection; Everett E. Edwards, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Committee on Radio.*—Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library, Chicago; Elizabeth Y. Webb, Washington, D. C., Henry Commager, Columbia University; W. K. Jordan, Radcliffe College; Thomas I. Parkinson, New York City; Philip E. Mosely, Department of State; Raymond Sontag, University of California; Evelyn Read (director), Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; Cesar Saerchinger (broadcaster), New York City.

\*New member this year.



*Committee on Government Publications.*—Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Bernard Mayo, University of Virginia; Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University.

*Delegates of the American Historical Association.*—*American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome:* Austin P. Evans, Columbia University—term expires December, 1947; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College—term expires December, 1947. *American Council of Learned Societies:* C. W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University—term expires December, 1948; Joseph Strayer,\* Princeton University—term expires December, 1950. *Representative on American Year Book Supervisory Board:* Thomas C. Cochran, Washington Square College, New York University. *International Committee on Historical Sciences:* William L. Langer,\* Harvard University; Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies. *Representative on the National Parks Association Board:* Carl Bridenbaugh,\* Colonial Williamsburg—term expires May, 1950. *Representatives on Social Education:* Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College. *Social Science Research Council:* Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1947; Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University—term expires December, 1948; Elmer Ellis,\* University of Missouri—term expires December, 1949. *National Historical Publications Commission.*—Dumas Malone, Columbia University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex. *Social Science Federation.*—Elmer Kayser, George Washington University.

The following ad interim appointments were made in 1946: Professor Robert K. Richardson of Beloit College was delegate at the Centennial Charter Day of Beloit College on February 2, 1946. Mrs. Mary Alice Parrish of Vandalia, Missouri, was delegate at the inauguration of Arthur Holly Compton as chancellor of Washington University on February 22, 1946. Professor Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania was representative at the fiftieth anniversary of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia on April 5-6, 1946. Professor William T. Laprade of Duke University was representative at the sesquicentennial celebration of the University of North Carolina, April 12-13, 1946. Professor Albert B. White, professor emeritus of the University of Minnesota, was representative at the inauguration of J. L. Morrill as president of the University of Minnesota on April 23-25, 1946. Professor Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania was delegate at the Fourth General Assembly of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History and the Third Pan American Consultation on Cartography in Caracas on August 22, 1946. Professor Waldemar Westergaard of the University of California at Los Angeles was delegate at the inauguration of Arthur Gardiner Coons as president of Occidental College, October 3, 1946. President H. Gary Hudson of Illinois College was representative at the MacMurray College centennial celebration, October 8-10, 1946. Professor Law-

\*New member this year.



rence H. Gipson of Lehigh University was delegate at the inauguration of Martin Dewey Whitaker as president of Lehigh University on October 12, 1946. Professor Oscar J. Hammen of the University of Utah was representative at the inauguration of Albert Ray Olpin as president of the University of Utah, October 15-16, 1946. Dr. John W. Oliver of the University of Pittsburgh was representative at the inauguration of James Herbert Case, jr., as president of Washington and Jefferson College on October 25, 1946. Mrs. Dora Neill Raymond of Sweet Briar College was delegate to the inauguration of Martha Lucas as president of Sweet Briar College. Professor Elizabeth Calder of Wells College was representative at the inauguration of Richard Leighton Greene as president of Wells College on November 1, 1946. Dr. Harlow Lindley of the University of Richmond was delegate at the inauguration of Thomas Elsa Jones as seventh president of Earlham College, November 23, 1946. Professor Maude H. Woodfin of the University of Richmond was representative at the inauguration of George Matthews Modlin as president of the University of Richmond, November 15-16, 1946.

As no written report had yet been received from the chairman of the Committee on Historical Source Materials, and inasmuch as the chairman and Mr. Ford had agreed in a conference to liquidate the committee as a whole and to retain such subcommittees as seemed necessary, the Council gave authority to the Executive Secretary to organize such committees with the advice of the chairman of the Committee on Historical Source Materials. [The Executive Secretary reports the setting up of the Committees on Manuscripts, Business Records, and Documentary Reproduction.]

Mr. Ford announced that Mr. James Hazen Hyde of New York had given the Association the sum of \$1,000 to be awarded for the first time in 1948 for the best work in Franco-American relations or France in the nineteenth century. The Council approved a committee of five members to award the prize. (For committee members see p. 625 above.)

Mr. Ford reported for the Committee on Honorary Members. The committee had decided not to appoint any new members this year in view of the fact that the chairman, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, was to make a trip abroad during the coming year and would be able to look over the field of foreign scholars with the idea of naming new honorary members next year.

The Council approved the following resolution submitted by the chairman of the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications:

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman of the committee (name and address) by March 1 of the year of the award. Normally the committee will publish one or two volumes each year.

Mr. Ford announced the appointment of a committee by mail vote of the Executive Committee to investigate the status and future of *Writings on American History*. The committee consists of Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress, chairman; John Krout, Columbia University; and Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library, Chicago. Mr. Ford called the attention of the Council to the fact that Lester J. Cappon, chairman of the Special Committee on the WPA Bibliography of American History, which was discharged this year, had suggested the desirability of an annual bibliography of American history.

Mr. Whitaker reported that the Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee felt that it was no longer in a position to carry the expenses of the preparation of the *Writings on American History* and the Council unanimously passed the following resolution:

The Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee is hereby formally relieved of the financial burden of the *Writings on American History* except for completing the editing of the volume for 1941.

Dean Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri was elected the new member of the American Historical Association delegation to the Social Science Research Council.

The following were elected by the Council to the Executive Committee: Sidney B. Fay, chairman, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Roy F. Nichols, T. J. Wertenbaker, Solon J. Buck (ex officio), Guy Stanton Ford (ex officio).

The choice of the meeting place for 1947 was left to the Executive Committee, inasmuch as the Association had just been informed that Chicago would be unable to take care of the meeting during Christmas week in 1947. President Fay extended to the Association through the Council an invitation from Boston to hold the meeting there. It was decided to hold the 1949 meeting in Boston as this will take place on the East Coast if the usual cycle is followed. The 1947 meeting should be held some place in the Middle West. Professor Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois was named chairman of the Program Committee. (Professor Donald G. Barnes was later made chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.)

Mr. Ford, as Managing Editor of the *Review*, nominated Frederick C. Dietz of the University of Illinois to succeed William E. Lunt of Haverford College on the Board of Editors. The Council affirmed the choice.

Mr. Ford reported that the "Bibliography of English History, 1714-1789," a joint project of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society, had been completed by Professor Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, and would be forwarded to the Royal Historical Society shortly.

The Council approved the budget of *Social Education* as it had been presented by the editor, Professor Erling Hunt. It decided that the appointment of a new editor for *Social Education* to take office after June 30, 1947, when Professor Hunt's

resignation will take effect, was a matter of great interest to the Association. The Council authorized the Executive Committee to take the responsibility of approving the new editor.

The Council also authorized the Executive Committee to ratify the new constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies if it is approved at the January meeting of the ACLS.

It was decided that the American Philosophical Society could use the mailing list of the American Historical Association for purposes of advertising two of their publications. This courtesy to a learned society for the purposes specified is in no way a precedent for making the stencils available to commercial firms. They can use the printed membership list, which is in the public domain.

The question of publishing another list of doctoral dissertations in progress was brought up by Mr. Ford. The Council felt that such a list was urgently needed now that graduate schools had resumed normal activities. It was suggested that such a volume could be sold for \$1.00 but that sales could not be undertaken by the executive office. It was left to the Executive Secretary to make arrangements with a university or commercial press.

The Modern Language Association had asked the Council to discuss their plan to appoint a committee to study the feasibility and advisability of establishing an Institute of American Civilization. The Council expressed its sympathetic interest in such a plan and agreed that the American Historical Association might be represented at a meeting to discuss the project.

The desirability of establishing student memberships at a reduced rate had been again suggested to the Council. The Council decided that in view of the difficulty of bookkeeping which the transferring of members from student membership to regular membership would involve and the fact that the cost of a regular membership is not excessive, such a procedure would not be practicable at the present time.

Mr. Whitaker reported on the first year of the new Beveridge Fellowship plan. He said the committee was publicizing the fellowship in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, the *Journal of Modern History*, the *Journal of Southern History*, and the *Southern Historical Review*. The committee had changed the deadline from September 1, which it had been during the first year, to July 1 to allow the members more time in which to confer. Mr. Whitaker asked for suggestions for new publicity, which the Council felt had been handled very well during the first year.

The Council voted to express its deep appreciation of the services of Guy Stanton Ford as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor and earnestly requested him to continue in office for another period of three years. Miss Patty Washington was also appointed for another three-year term.

In the absence of Professor Francis J. Bowman, the delegate from the Pacific

Coast Branch, Councillor Ralph H. Lutz read the report of the Pacific Coast Branch. (See p. 634 ff. below.)

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PENN-TOP, PENNSYLVANIA HOTEL,  
NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 28, 1946, 4:00 P.M.

President Sidney B. Fay called the meeting to order with some 250 or more members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last meeting as printed in the April issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Before reading his annual report Mr. Ford called the attention of the members to the fact that it was just fifty years ago that the Association met for the first time in New York. It was also the second meeting held outside Washington. He then read his report. (See p. 614 ff. above.)

The Treasurer, Mr. Buck, presented his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1946.)

Mr. W. Randolph Burgess of New York was re-elected to the Board of Trustees and to continue as chairman of the Board.

Professor Max Savelle, Nominating Committee chairman, then gave his report. He announced that sixty-seven people sent in suggestions for officers as compared with eight the year before. These suggestions brought a variety of names from all over the country to the attention of the Nominating Committee. The committee attributes this lively response to its call for suggestions to the fact that a blank in the form of a tear sheet was placed in the April issue of the *Review* for the convenience of members. The committee was faced with an extraordinary number of vacancies to fill by reason of the death of one member of the Nominating Committee (Professor Louis Pelzer) and the resignation of one member of the Council (Professor Merle Curti). As a result of the votes cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

Members of the Council (three to be chosen)—Professor J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois, Professor Carl Wittke of Oberlin College, and President C. W. Cole of Amherst College.

Members of the Nominating Committee (four to be chosen)—Professor Carl Stephenson of Cornell University, Professor F. M. Green of the University of North Carolina, Professor W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington, and Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library.

For the presidency of the Association for the year 1947, the committee nominated Professor Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker; for the vice-presidency, it

nominated Professor Kenneth Latourette; and for the office of Treasurer, it nominated Dr. Solon J. Buck. As the Committee had received no petitions for alternative candidates within the prescribed time limit for written petitions, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for those three candidates.

Mr. Ford reported on the following actions taken by the Council at its meeting: The report of the Committee on Committees; the announcement of the establishment of the James Hazen Hyde Prize and the committee appointed; the resolution from the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund; the establishment of the committee to study the *Writings on American History*; the election as delegates of Dean Elmer Ellis to the Social Science Research Council and of Professor Joseph Strayer to the American Council of Learned Societies; the membership of the Executive Committee; the new member of the Board of Editors; the approval of the *Social Education* budget.

Mr. Buck then read the statement of the Council appointing Mr. Ford for another term as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor.

Professor Arthur P. Whitaker reported for the Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee on its progress during the first year of the new fellowship. The announcement of the winner of the fellowship was to be made at the annual dinner. (See p. 613 above.)

Professor Francis J. Bowman presented the report of the Pacific Coast Branch.

Dr. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications, submitted the following resolutions bearing upon publications dealing with the history of World War II:

The American Historical Association recognizes the importance to the United States of the planned history of World War II initiated by the President and Congress and currently under way in the Army, Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine Corps. The Association also takes cognizance of the fact that the employment of professional historians by some seventy or more agencies of the government is a unique recognition of the capacity of historians, acting professionally, to render an immediate public service.

The Association has a direct interest in the conformity of this effort to the following principles and policies:

1. That the historians concerned enjoy freedom of research in all pertinent records.
2. That the studies prepared in all phases of the work conform fully to the standards of the historical profession, even though certain of them must remain classified in the interest of national security.
3. That each study bear the name or names of the writers or compilers as a guarantee of competence and integrity.
4. That the original records of all agencies be safeguarded and preserved.
5. That studies and records be declassified as quickly and thoroughly as is consistent with national security.
6. That the studies be placed at the disposal of historical scholars and teachers of history at the earliest practicable date; now therefore be it

*Resolved*, (1) That the Executive Secretary of the Association request the agencies concerned to distribute copies of all printed studies to a select list of universities, learned societies, and public libraries, to insure a wide diffusion to scholars, teachers, and the interested public; (2) That he further request that studies lithographed or produced in other than printed form be made accessible by deposit of copies in the university and public libraries on the basis of a wide geographical distribution; (3) That he further request the Director of the World War II Records Project to keep the interested public informed of the current and continuing results of the program, with indications as to the availability of the studies completed; (4) That he act in co-operation with the responsible heads or historical advisers of the agencies concerned, representing the interest of the Association, as defined above, to the end of obtaining continued financial support by those agencies and by the Congress for the completion of their programs, insofar as they conform to the standards of this Association; (5) That he send copies of this resolution to the Cabinet members and to the heads of each of the agencies concerned, to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and to the committees of Congress connected with appropriations for these purposes.

Having in mind the publications of the Department of State, the committee also submitted the following resolution:

WHEREAS it is now more than ever essential that the United States Department of State provide historians with the basic documents on all significant phases of our foreign policies, past and present: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved* by the American Historical Association, That the Department of State be commended for the expansion in its historical service during the past half decade—particularly for the increased number of *Foreign Relations* volumes; for making the *Department of State Bulletin* the best current record of American foreign policy to date; for the larger number of printings of significant reports, state papers and formal international agreements; and most especially for advancing the open date of access to its files by scholars from 1920 to 1932; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Department be urged to expedite the publication of basic documents regarding such important events as the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, so that we may not have to wait twenty-seven years for such papers, as in the case of the Paris Conference of 1919; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Executive Secretary be directed to send copies of these resolutions to the Secretary of State, to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and to the Chairmen of the Committees on Appropriations, Foreign Relations, and Foreign Affairs of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, with an expression of the opinion of this Association that adequate information on our foreign policy is of greatest importance and that every effort should be made to make it available in increasing quantity and quality.

After a short discussion the members unanimously approved the resolutions as submitted.

At a call for other business, Mr. Ralph Guinness presented another resolution. The Association decided to refer this resolution to the Executive Committee for consideration.

Mr. Buck asked for a showing of hands of all who were willing and would prefer to have the meetings continue through Sunday instead of leaving it free as had been done this year. The vote was in the affirmative and the possibility of sessions on Sunday was recommended to the program chairman for next year. In the discussion the examples of the Catholic and the Mississippi Valley Historical Associations were cited.

As there was no further business, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson moved that the meeting be adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held under the auspices of the Associated Colleges in Claremont on the campus of Pomona College, January 2-4, 1947. The total registration for the meeting was 140. The program was prepared by a committee consisting of George H. Knoles of Stanford University, chairman, Glenn Dumke of Occidental College, Brainerd Dyer of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Solomon Katz of the University of Washington. Local arrangements were in charge of a committee which included W. Henry Cooke of the Claremont Graduate School, chairman, Albert Britt of Scripps College, and John H. Gleason of Pomona College.

The meeting opened on the afternoon of January 2 with two sections, one devoted to modern European history and the other to California history. In the former section, of which Peter M. Dunne, S.J., of the University of San Francisco was chairman, papers were presented by Livingstone Porter of Stanford University on "The Lusatian Sorbs: The Smallest Slavic Nation"; by Henry C. Meyer of Pomona College on "The Idea of Mitteleuropa in the Writings of German Economists, 1871-1914"; by Wayne C. Vucinich of Stanford University on "The Russian Liberations of Bulgaria in 1878 and in 1914: An Historical Parallel?" and by Pearle E. Quinn of Mills College on "The Inception of National Socialism." Donald Rowland of the University of Southern California was chairman of the second section in which there were papers by Irving McKee of the University of California, Berkeley, on "The Beginnings of California Wine Growing"; by Edward A. White of Stanford University on "California Protestantism and the Problem of Social Order in 1860"; and by Alice Rose of Long Beach Junior College on "Governor Pardee as a Political Leader."

At dinner on the evening of January 2, President Frank H. Garver of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association presented Edgar E. Robinson of Stanford University, who spoke on the topic "What Has Happened to American



History 1940-1945?" After the address, there was an informal reception in Blaisdell Hall, Pomona College.

On the morning of January 3, there were again two simultaneous sections. One of these was devoted to Chinese history and was presided over by Woodbridge Bingham of the University of California, Berkeley. Yu-Shan Han of the University of California, Los Angeles, presented a paper on "The Role of the Historian in China"; David Gray Poston of the University of Utah presented a paper on "The Problem of Chinese Chronicles"; and Franz Michael of the University of Washington presented a paper on "Revolution and Renaissance in Nineteenth Century China: The Age of Tseng-Kuo-Fan." In the section on the history of the United States, John D. Hicks of the University of California, Berkeley, presided. Papers were read by Brainerd Dyer of the University of California, Los Angeles, on "The Mexican War Diary of Gideon Welles"; by Henry N. Smith of the University of Texas and the Huntington Library on "Clarence King, John Wesley Powell, and the Establishment of the United States Geological Survey"; by Colin B. Goodykoontz of the University of Colorado on "Edward P. Costigan and the United States Tariff Commission"; and by Henry M. Adams of the Eastern Washington College of Education on "American Military Government in Sicily, 1943."

At luncheon on January 3, Robert J. Kerner of the University of California, Berkeley, presided, and a paper on "Acton, Creighton, and Lea: A Study in History and Ethics" was presented by Andrew Fish of the University of Oregon.

One of the afternoon sections on January 3 was devoted to the history of Great Britain. Francis H. Herrick of Mills College acted as chairman. There were papers by James Dille of Stanford University on "The Pro-Scottish Germans in England, 1295-1327"; by Richard M. Brace of the University of Colorado on "A Reappraisal of the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1786"; by Charles Mowat of the University of California, Los Angeles, on "Ireland, 1920"; and by James G. Allen of the University of Colorado on "Present Trends in the British Empire as Expressed in Editorial Opinion." The other afternoon section had the California centennial as its theme. John W. Caughey of the University of California, Los Angeles, presided. The following papers were presented: "Thomas C. Lancey, Chronicler of '46" by Lawrence C. Powell, University of California, Los Angeles; "California and Hawaii, 1846-1852" by Harold W. Bradley of the Claremont Graduate School; "Southern California in the Sunny but Uncertain Seventies" by Robert G. Cleland of the Huntington Library; and "Historical Speculations on California History" by Rockwell D. Hunt of the University of Southern California. Following the afternoon programs, there was a reception and tea for those attending the meeting in Balch Hall at Scripps College.

The annual dinner was held on the evening of January 3 at Harwood Court, Pomona College. E. Wilson Lyon, president of Pomona College and provost of the Claremont Graduate School acted as chairman. The subject of the presidential

address by Frank H. Garver of the University of Southern California was "Some Phases of the History of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association." Following the address there were brief remarks by past presidents and secretary-treasurers of the Pacific Coast Branch who were present, and greetings were read from those unable to attend.

On the morning of January 4, one section dealt with European history, with Francis J. Bowman of the University of Southern California in the chair. The papers presented here were on "Petrarch: Medieval or Modern?" by Dayton Phillips of Stanford University, "Jean Bodin and the Estates of 1576" by Owen Ulph of Montana State College, "An Estimate of Jean Sylvain Bailly, Mayor of Paris, 1789-1791" by Harold T. L. Frasier of Coalinga Junior College, and "Russian Colonial Activities before the Conquest of Siberia" by George V. Lantzeff of the University of California, Berkeley. In the other section, on Japan and the western Pacific, William H. Ellison of the University of California, Santa Barbara College, presided. Papers were read by Delmer M. Brown of the University of California, Berkeley, on "Gold in Medieval Japan"; by George M. McCune of the University of California, Berkeley, on "The Japanese Trading Post at Fusan, Prototype of Deshima"; by Allan B. Cole of Pomona College and the Claremont Graduate School on "The Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke Expeditions to Japan and the North Pacific, 1853-1859"; and by Earl Swisher of the University of Colorado on "Commodore Perry's Imperialism in Relation to America's Present Day Position in the Pacific."

At 11:30 A.M., the annual business meeting was held in Bridges Hall, Pomona College, with President Garver in the chair. The secretary-treasurer and the managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* made reports which included financial statements to be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1946. The report of the managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* was read by Harold W. Bradley, chairman of the board of editors. A report was presented by the associate editor. On motion of the chairman of the board of editors, the number of members of the board of editors was voted increased from six to nine. The delegate of the Pacific Coast Branch to the meeting of the American Historical Association in New York on December 27-30, 1946, presented a report. The following awards were then announced: European history, "Conservation of Hanseatic Privileges in the Low Countries, 1508-1514" by William L. Winter; Pacific history, "The Agrarian Background of Recent Philippine History" by Harlan R. Crippen. There was no award in American history.

The nominating committee reported the following nominations, which were approved: president, Robert J. Kerner, University of California, Berkeley; vice-president, Frank J. Klingberg, University of California, Los Angeles; secretary-treasurer, John H. Kemble, Pomona College; council, the above officers and Carl F. Brand, Stanford University, John W. Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles, Charles M. Gates, University of Washington, Francis H. Herrick,

Mills College; board of editors, *Pacific Historical Review*, William H. Ellison, University of California, Santa Barbara College, George H. Knoles, Stanford University, Peter M. Dunne, S.J., University of San Francisco, Colin B. Goodykoontz, University of Colorado, Franz Michael, University of Washington (in addition there are four members with unexpired terms); managing editor, *Pacific Historical Review*, John W. Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles.

JOHN H. KEMBLE, *Secretary-Treasurer*

## American Historical Association

The attention of all members of the Association is called to the preferential ballot for officers included in this issue following page 654. The Committee on Nominations earnestly solicits the co-operation each member can give by noting his suggestions on this sheet and sending it to Professor F. Lee Bennis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

The Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., is now prepared to fill orders for *List of Members of the American Historical Association* (to December 1, 1946) at thirty cents a copy. Members who do not receive the *Annual Report* and want the membership list are advised to order promptly.

In pursuance of action taken by the Council of the Association the Executive Secretary sent in February to the heads of departments in some seventy institutions a supply of form cards on which to enter the titles of dissertations in progress and the names of the candidates. If any department sponsoring candidates for the doctor's degree did not receive a supply of these cards, the chairman is urged to communicate at once with the executive office of the Association, 274 Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D.C. This is the first census of the kind since 1941 and it is hoped to make the coverage complete. Any subjects listed in the earlier census, if still valid, must be resubmitted as there will be no cross reference back to earlier lists. Candidates and departments should make every effort to protect work begun or selected as a research topic leading to the doctor's degree.

Attention is called to the Council's approval of the following restatement and clarification of the conditions governing the awards of the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund:

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman of the committee (Professor Ray A. Billington, Department of History, Northwestern University, Evanston,

Illinois) by March 1 of the year of the award. Normally the committee will publish one or two volumes each year. For the current year books and manuscripts will be accepted up to July 1.

The James Hazen Hyde Prize of \$1,000 is to be awarded for the first time in 1948 for the best study on any phase of Franco-American relations or French political history in the nineteenth century, either in manuscript or published within the preceding three years.

The editor regrets that space necessarily given in this issue to the annual meeting and program in New York has put over to the July issue a critique of the article in the October, 1946, *Review* on "Odoacer: German or Hun?" and a reply by the authors of the article.

The American Historical Association's special committee on documentary reproduction proposes, with the co-operation of the *Review*, through quarterly reports in this journal, to keep the Association informed of materials which are being currently made available on microfilm, microprint, sound recordings, photo-offset, and related mediums. The quarterly listings will probably be classified along lines followed in listings of periodical articles in the *Review*.

## Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: six additional handwritten and typewritten transcripts of papers relating to the manor of Marcle Audleys in Herefordshire, England, *ca.* 1327 to 1797; a document, on vellum, signed by Henry of Navarre, May 23, 1582; an additional box of papers collected by Elizabeth S. Kite, relating chiefly to Pierre Charles L'Enfant, 1620 to 1946; nine Peruvian letters and documents, 1679 to 1877; microfilm copy of a calendar of the papers of Thomas Jefferson prepared by Helen Bullock, with an account books index, 1740 on; "A Description of the Nicobar Islands," from a report to George Lord Macartney, governor of Madras, *ca.* 1782; photostatic copy of letter from George Washington to Burwell Bassett, May 23, 1785; letters written by Robert and Archibald Blair, and two reports by the latter on the Andaman Islands, with especial reference to settlement thereon, 1786 to 1798; photostats of five papers in the Alexander William Armour Collection, including Bushrod Washington's memorandum of his account with Henry Lee, a letter from Henry Lee to William Augustine Washington, and three letters of or relating to John Brown, June 18, 1793, to December 27, 1859; six letters and documents relating to the death and arrangements for the burial of George Washington, December 15 to 31, 1799; "The Romance of Celes," a religious novel in eleven manuscript volumes, written by Solomon Spaulding [Spalding?] probably

early in the nineteenth century; *ca.* fifty papers including autograph letters, typescript copies, and printed matter, relating chiefly to John Brown, 1801 to 1905; photostatic copy and typescript of indenture between Patrick Leahy and Thomas Hussy, and of certification of completion of former's apprenticeship as a stone cutter, June 26, 1819 and April 7, 1829; "Log of the Proceedings of H M S Spry John Donaldson Boswell Esq.<sup>r</sup> Captain from 1 Jan.<sup>y</sup> 1821 to 27 Aug.<sup>t</sup> 1821"; microfilm copy of the records of the proprietors of Louisburg Square, Boston, Massachusetts, 1826 to 1945; typescript copy of letter from Richard Morecraft to Judge Samuel Preston, October 8, 1828; a small collection of manuscript sermons and other papers of the Reverend Dr. Conway Phelps Wing, mainly 1832 to 1885; a small collection of Easby family papers, including fourteen papers of Captain William Easby; and a letter from Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth to Mrs. Ann Young, containing reminiscences about Benjamin King, 1837 to 1895; photostatic copies of six letters from Edward A. Low, William Henry Low, and Harriet Low Hillard to Josiah O. Low, 1840 to 1842; microfilm copy of the logs of the schooners *Samaria* and *Quill*, Nehemiah H. Radcliff, Master, 1848 to 1849 and 1855; and of the commonplace book of Mrs. Mary E. Travers; a valuable addition to the papers of the Thomas Ewing family, mainly of the last half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries; two autograph letters, in German, from Carl Schurz to his sister-in-law, January 2 and September 10, 1863; letter from Ulysses S. Grant to Jacob D. Cox, October 26, 1870; *ca.* forty-eight papers of Alexander Macomb Mason, relating to his services with the Egyptian government in the Sudan in the 1870's and 1880's; a collection of papers of M. French Sheldon, explorer and author, *ca.* 1885 to 1936; twenty-seven letters from Gertrude F. Atherton, mainly to Joseph M. Stoddart of Philadelphia, [1889 to 1898?]; photostatic copies of what appear to be Eugene Field's corrected manuscript copies of "Little Boy Blue" and his Dutch lullaby, "Wynken, Blynken, and Nod"; sixty-nine boxes of papers of James A. Robertson, 1898 to 1939; four letters from Colonel Edward M. House to Colonel George B. M. Harvey, May 14, [1914] to April 2, 1921; a substantial addition to the papers of Oscar S. Straus; one box of papers of W. Orton Tewson, largely September to October, 1926; one carton of additional papers of John C. Fitzpatrick, 1927 to 1933; three cartons of additional typescripts of radio broadcasts of Raymond Swing, January, 1943, to early January, 1947; eleven typescripts and multicopies of letters, documents, and clippings relating to the work of Dr. Earl E. Dudding and the Prisoners Relief Society, 1944 to 1946.

The archivist of the United States has announced a reorganization of the National Archives, effective on January 1, 1947. The National Archives Establishment now consists of the office of the archivist and eleven major offices having wide administrative and professional responsibility. The following constitute the archivist's immediate staff and the officials in charge of the offices: Dan Lacy, assistant archivist of the United States, Oliver W. Holmes, program adviser,

Elizabeth E. Hamer, chief of the division of exhibits and publications, and Ralph W. Luten, chief of the division of personnel management, all in the office of the archivist; Stuart Portner, director of administrative services; Arthur E. Young, secretary of the National Archives; Philip M. Hamer, director of records control; Thad Page, director of legislative service; Marcus W. Price, director of the general records office; Herman Kahn, director of the natural resources records office; Paul Lewinson, director of the industrial records office; Edward G. Campbell, director of the war records office; Dallas D. Irvine, director of the photographic records office; Bernard R. Kennedy, director of the *Federal Register*; and Fred W. Shipman, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. Although World War II records have not predominated among recent accessions of the National Archives, quantities of such records continue to be received. Among them are records of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, 1940-46, consisting largely of files of the National Defense Research Committee, and two large motion-picture film collections made by the Signal Corps, 1939-45, and the United Nations Training Film Committee, 1942-46, of which the National Archives was a member. Records of several German-owned firms operating in the United States that were seized by the former Office of the Alien Property Custodian at the beginning of World War II have also been received; they include the files of the German Railroads Information Office. Other accessions of note include records of collectors of customs at fifty-two ports in the United States and Alaska, 1789-1900, and files of the joint committee on the organization of Congress, 1945-46.

The State Department has recently sent to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library a quantity of material received from foreign countries during the years Mr. Roosevelt was President and immediately after his death. In addition to a large number of letters of condolence, it includes correspondence regarding such matters as requests for photographs of Mr. Roosevelt, gifts to him, and tributes paid him by foreign legislative bodies. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has turned over to the library sections of her correspondence for the year 1946. Some of them deal with her activities as delegate to the United Nations Assembly, and they include telegrams and letters asking for assistance in helping European refugees; petitions in behalf of Palestine, Finland, Trieste, and Korea; requests for United Nations action against Spain; requests from United States citizens for assistance in getting food and clothing to their relatives in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany; and many letters from Europeans expressing appreciation of her stand on questions affecting world peace. The papers of Mr. Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1913-20, which are in the library, have been arranged and are now available to searchers. Mr. Roosevelt's correspondence for the same period dealing with federal patronage in New York State, chiefly with the appointment of postmasters, has also been opened for research use. Dr. Carl L. Spicer, formerly assistant pro-

fessor of history at Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia, has joined the staff of the library in the capacity of archivist.

The Illinois State Historical Library's Engelmann-Kircher Papers are being translated for the use of students. These documents date from 1798 to the end of the Civil War. Most of the material is personal correspondence—some two thousand letters—by the Engelmanns, Körners, Villards, and Kirchers, all "Latin peasants" who settled in St. Clair County, Illinois, in the 1830's. The correspondence reflects the problems of educated Germans under three changes of sovereignty in the Rhineland and explains the reasons that finally brought them to America eager to take part in the affairs of a democracy. The necessary translating in this collection is being done by Professor Ada Klett, on leave of absence from Vassar College.

Students of the history of the Spanish period of the Mississippi Valley will be happy to learn of the recent formation of the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, Inc., sponsored by a small group of St. Louisans interested in making available early materials concerning the Middle Valley. Launched formally on December 31, 1946, the foundation already has support pledged for the publication of a two-volume work (documents in translation, prefaced with an editor's introduction) on Spanish activities on the Missouri River. Promises have been made to underwrite several similar projects. The Missouri River work will be prepared by Professor Abraham P. Nasatir, San Diego State College, from his vast collection of materials on the Spanish period in Upper Louisiana. Other segments of this same collection will be published as the foundation finds the necessary backing. Officers of the foundation are Mr. Charles E. Peterson, National Parks Service, president, Professor John Francis McDermott, Washington University, St. Louis, secretary, Father John Francis Bannon, S.J., treasurer, Mr. Arthur C. Hoskins, Mr. Hart Vance, jr., and Mr. William C. Fordyce, jr. Membership in the foundation is open to those interested in Western history, at one dollar a year.

Effective March 1, the annual volumes of *Documents on American Foreign Relations* will be published and distributed by the Princeton University Press. The co-operative arrangement with the World Peace Foundation leaves to the foundation editorial supervision and sponsorship.

A new co-operative research project, "Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides," has been undertaken by a group of scholars from various American universities, with the approval of the committee on Renaissance studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philological Association, and the Mediaeval Academy of America. It is planned to survey Latin translations, produced from antiquity down to



1600 A.D., of Greek authors who wrote before 600 A.D. Inquiries regarding the project may be directed to Dr. Paul O. Kristeller, 1161 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 27, New York.

Godfrey Davies, of the Huntington Library, is continuing the editing of Franklin's autobiography. The editorial work was initiated by the late Dr. Max Farrand.

At a recent meeting of the committee on research in economic history a grant was made to Professor Thomas C. Cochran of New York University to aid him in the study of entrepreneurial thought in the period 1840-1890 with special reference to leaders in the railroad industry. At the same time a supplementary grant was made to Professor Joseph B. Hedges of Brown to assist him in his study of the Brown family. Likewise a substantial grant was made to the committee of the Social Science Research Council concerned with the preparation of a "Source Book of Historical Statistics," of which Dr. J. Frederic Dewhurst of the Twentieth Century Fund is chairman. This latter committee is working in collaboration with the United States Bureau of the Census, which is taking immediate responsibility for the compilation of this source book.

The Pacific Coast Committee for the Humanities was established in 1944 by the American Council of Learned Societies. The committee is now sponsoring the publication of a quarterly magazine called the *Pacific Spectator*. The first issue appeared in January, 1947, with the imprint of the Stanford University Press. The board of editors consists of John W. Dodds, chairman; Edith Mirrielees, managing editor; Louis B. Wright, Dixon Wecter, George Stewart, and Wallace Stegner.

The Middle East Institute (1906 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington 9, D.C.) announces a new quarterly, *The Middle East Journal*. The first issue appeared in January. The subscription price is \$6.00 a year. Mr. Harvey P. Hall is the editor.

*The Social Sciences in Mexico and News about the Social Sciences in South and Central America* is the name of a new journal printed in English and edited by Dr. Laszlo Radvanyi, professor of economics in the National University of Mexico. Scholars in the United States interested in Hispanic American social and economic affairs may secure from Dr. Radvanyi, Donato Guerra 1, Desp. 207, México, D.F., a very explicit prospectus of the new journal. Each issue will contain from 120 to 140 pages. Single issues are one dollar and the annual subscription \$3.50 in United States currency. The first number will appear in the first quarter of 1947.

"Writing Your Community's War History," a thirty-page booklet by Marvin W. Schlegel, assistant state historian, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Com-

mission, has been published as Volume I, Number 11 (October, 1946) of the *Bulletins* of the American Association for State and Local History. This practical manual for local war historians of the second World War is the fruit of a joint project of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History. Leon deValinger, jr., state archivist of Delaware, is chairman of the society's committee; the association's committee has been headed successively by Lester J. Cappon and W. Edwin Hemphill. Persons who are not members of the association can procure copies of this booklet at thirty-five cents each from Miss Nell Hines, Secretary-Treasurer, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

The Virginia World War II History Commission, of which W. Edwin Hemphill is director, has announced an expansion of its staff last year. Elizabeth D. Coleman, Newton B. Jones, and William M. E. Rachal have been appointed to full-time research positions; Herbert Clarence Bradshaw and Harvey Lee Price have undertaken part-time research work on the state's educational and agricultural history, respectively, during the war years. The commission is continuing its collection of war records and has undertaken the preparation of a number of proposed volumes. Its headquarters are in the University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.

The National War College completed its first semester December 20, 1946. The student body is composed of one hundred officers from the armed services and the State Department. The curriculum has stressed the nonmilitary aspects of international relations, world affairs, and the foreign policy of the United States. Among the resident staff are Walter L. Wright of Princeton, Sherman Kent of Yale, and Bernard Brodie of Yale. Occasional lectures have been given by the following well-known scholars: C. J. H. Hayes, E. M. Earle, Sigmund Neumann, Dennis Brogan, Philip E. Mosely, Michael Karpovich, Geroid T. Robinson, David E. Owen, E. L. Woodward, Arnold Wolfers, Crane Brinton, Dwight Salmon, Owen Lattimore, Hugh Borton, David N. Rowe, Charles C. Steele, Dexter Perkins, James P. Baxter, Grayson Kirk, Joseph E. Johnson, William L. Langer, Jacob Viner, and Rudolph A. Winnacker. The program is under the general direction of Vice Admiral H. W. Hill, United States Navy.

The committee on research of the American Philosophical Society makes grants-in-aid toward the preparation of manuscripts for publication worthy of such a grant. The committee has made a grant to the committee on publications of the society for 1947 to enable it to publish accepted manuscripts in one of its series of scholarly monographs. Grants toward publications not in the series of the society's publications are not made by the society. Inquiries should be directed to Luther P. Eisenhart, Executive Officer, 104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its semiannual meeting at Greensboro College, Greensboro, North Carolina, on the afternoon and evening of November 30. The program was composed of a paper read by Dr. Adelaide Fries of Winston-Salem, "The Life and Labors of Lewis David de Schweinitz, a Minister of the Moravian Church," and the presidential address by Dr. Alice Baldwin of Duke University, "The Political Theory of the 'New Light' Presbyterian Clergy of Virginia and North Carolina." Officers elected were Dr. Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina, president; Dr. M. L. Skaggs, Greensboro College, vice-president; Dr. Adelaide Fries of Winston-Salem, member of the council. Dr. Cecil Johnson, University of North Carolina, was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The Adams Mansion and Library in Quincy, Massachusetts, has become a national historic site. It was presented to the people of the United States by the Adams Memorial Society, which has owned and managed the buildings and grounds since 1927. It will be administered by the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

### Personal

Arnold J. Toynbee, Benjamin D. Meritt, and Edward Mead Earle were the three historians who received honorary degrees from Princeton University at a bicentennial convocation on February 22, 1947.

Clanton Ware Williams, professor of history, University of Alabama, was recently awarded the Legion of Merit "for his work during the war in creating and administering the fact-gathering and critical-analysis system in compiling information for the history of the AAF." The first volume of the seven-volume history will appear in 1947; the final volume is scheduled for completion in 1950.

The civilian war service of Paul M. Angle, now director of the Chicago Historical Society, was recognized in the award of the War Department Certificate of Appreciation at a formal military presentation in Chicago on September 17, 1946.

### APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

The Department of State has appointed Sargent B. Childs director of the United States Information Library in London. Mr. Childs was for several years director of the Historical Records Survey of the WPA.

The Trustees of the Huntington Library have named Dixon Wecter to succeed the late Edwin F. Gay as senior member of the Research Group in the library.

Dorothy Stimson has resigned as dean of Goucher College, to take effect in June, 1947. After a year's leave of absence, she will return as professor of history.

Sherman Kent, since 1928 a member of Yale University, who was on leave of absence for five years for government war service, has been promoted to a professorship of history.

C. Mauelshagen, professor of history in the University System of Georgia Center, Atlanta, has been appointed chairman of the history department in the same institution.

R. Archibald Jelliffe, head of the department of history, Oberlin College, at present on sabbatical leave of absence, has sailed for China to teach for one semester in the National Peking University.

Martin R. P. McGuire, dean, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Catholic University of America, and associate professor of history, has been promoted to a full professorship as of October 1, 1946.

Bernard Mayo, who has served as visiting professor of history at Harvard University during the session of 1946-47, will return to his permanent post at the University of Virginia in June.

Thomas P. Govan, on leave from the University of the South during the past session to serve as acting professor of history at the University of Virginia, will resume his teaching at Sewanee in the autumn.

Lewis E. Atherton has been promoted to professor of history in the University of Missouri. David H. Pinkney and William N. Davis, jr., have been appointed assistant professors of history in the same institution.

Fred A. Shannon, of the University of Illinois, will teach at Columbia University in the summer of 1947.

J. Duncan Brite has been promoted to professor of history in Utah State Agricultural College.

Harold O. McCumber, professor of history at Emmanuel College, Berrien Springs, Michigan, is visiting lecturer at the California Institute of Technology for 1946-1947.

Mark M. Heald, associate professor of history, Rutgers University, has accepted an exchange professorship at the Fresno (California) State College for the next summer session. Mitchell Pirie Briggs, dean of men and professor of social science

at the Fresno college, will teach history and political science at Rutgers during the first session of the summer term.

The department of history of the University of Maryland has made the following appointments: Fred W. Wellborn, professor; Richard H. Bauer and Horace S. Merrill, associate professors; Beverly McAnear, Herbert Crosman, Donald C. Gordon, and Wilhelmina Feemster Jashemski, assistant professors.

Donald W. Riddle has been appointed associate professor of history in the University of Illinois on the Navy Pier, Chicago.

Sidney Warren has been appointed associate professor of social science at the University of Florida.

Arthur E. Bestor, jr., has been appointed lecturer in American history at the University of Wisconsin for the winter and summer sessions of 1947. He is on leave from Stanford University, where he is associate professor of history.

Arthur W. Thompson has joined the department of history of the University of Florida for the current academic year.

The department of history and political science of Butler University announces the following appointments: Clement T. Malan, acting professor; Kenneth J. Deacon, Lewis Gilfoy, Hubert H. Hawkins, Emma Lou Thornbrough, and E. V. Kennedy, assistant professors; Mary S. Owen and James M. Smith, instructors.

Kurt Wilk has been appointed associate professor and Helen Nutting instructor in the department of history and government of Wells College.

Edward E. Younger, assistant professor of history at the University of Virginia, will teach during the summer at George Washington University.

Delmer M. Brown, who has specialized in Japanese history, has been promoted to an assistant professorship in the University of California in Berkeley.

Charles D. Cremeans and Robert C. L. Scott have been appointed assistant professors of history at Williams College.

A. William Salomone has been promoted to assistant professor in New York University.

Robert W. Frazer, formerly of the University of California at Los Angeles, has accepted the position of assistant professor of history in the University of Wichita.

Lloyd Worner, who received his Ph.D. from the University of Missouri in 1946, has been appointed instructor in history in Colorado College.

Anthony Lee Milnar has been appointed instructor in history in Georgetown University.

## RECENT DEATHS

Edward Potts Cheyney died at the Crozer Hospital in Chester, Pennsylvania, on Saturday, February 1, 1947, a short time after his eighty-sixth birthday. Well known as an inspiring teacher and a distinguished writer on English history, he had been associated with the University of Pennsylvania since he graduated in 1884 and became an instructor in history. Seven years later he was made professor of history, and in 1929 appointed to the Henry Charles Lea professorship of history, a position he held until his retirement in 1934. Professor Cheyney was one of the last survivors of that remarkable group of elder statesmen under whose guidance the American Historical Association developed into the great professional organization it is today. An active though unobtrusive member of the Association in its formative years, he gradually became one of its outstanding leaders, and in 1923 was elected its President. Meanwhile he had served the Association in many capacities. He was a member of the Council for two years, chairman for nine years of the Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize, and of the Committee on Bibliography of English History from 1909 to 1933. He was an editor of the *American Historical Review* from 1912 to 1920, serving as its chairman for much of this period of transition during which, in 1915, the Association acquired the *Review* "by the simple process of voting that it belonged to them." Even after his term as President, he carried on as chairman of the Committee on the Revolving Fund for the publication of historical monographs. A similar record of service and achievement characterized his work at the university and to a lesser degree at the American Philosophical Society. His history of the university written in connection with the bicentennial celebration is the standard history of the institution. Professor Cheyney's contribution to the new history and to improved methods of teaching was considerable. With his colleagues James Harvey Robinson and Dana C. Munro he projected *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, making them available in attractive form and modest price for classroom use. He broke new ground in his selection of original sources from the records of economic, social, and cultural history, witness: *English Towns and Guilds*; *Documents on Feudalism*; *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century as Reflected in Contemporary Literature*, and several others, culminating in his *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*. During the middle years of his life his interest shifted from fourteenth century England to the sixteenth. In this field he wrote his most ambitious work, *The History of England from the Armada to the Death of Queen Elizabeth* (2 vols., 1914-28). Filling in a gap between the works of Froude and Gardiner, it firmly established his reputation among English and European historians. *European Background of American History* (1904) "every American ought to read if he has not." His

textbooks, especially his *Short History of England*, have been widely used, his ability for clear, lucid writing, coupled with respect for facts and a capacity for generalizations accounting for their successive editions and reprinting. Rigid objectivity in the search for truth and a desire to make the truth prevail characterized both his teaching and his writing. An amateur scientist—geologist, botanist, and lover of the out-of-doors—he early espoused the theory and implications of evolution and applied them to his interpretation of history. History too had its laws, its determinants. In his *Law in History and Other Essays* (1927) he singles out six: a law of continuity, a law of change, a law of interdependence, a law of democracy, a law of control by free consent, and a law of moral progress. For his students, readers, and many friends no survey of his life would be complete without a reference to the man himself, the kindly, lovable Cheyney whose rugged personality refused to grow old. Long after his retirement he radiated the simplicity and serenity of his nature, his generous kindness, and his warmth of human feelings, so remarkably preserved in the Borie portrait now appropriately hung in the university library.

We have to record with deep regret the death, on February 3, of the distinguished historian and veteran of the American Historical Association, Wilbur Cortez Abbott, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. A son of the Hoosier State, he was graduated in 1892 from Wabash College, which conferred upon him thirty years later the honorary degree of doctor of letters. From 1892 to 1895 he pursued graduate studies at Cornell, where he held a fellowship and taught as instructor in history. His major interests were then in medieval history, and he wrote a thesis under the guidance of Professor George Lincoln Burr on the sources of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. From 1895 to 1897 he studied in England and on the Continent and in the latter year received the degree of bachelor of letters from Oxford. Returning to this country, he served successively as instructor in history at the University of Michigan (1897-99), associate professor at Dartmouth (1899-1902), and professor at the University of Kansas (1902-08), Yale (1908-20), and Harvard (1920-37). After his retirement from active teaching he was a research associate at Yale (1938-41) and visiting professor at Columbia (1939). Professor Abbott's earliest historical writing (other than book reviews) was published in the *English Historical Review* in 1898, and some of his best work is to be found in articles in that journal and in the *American Historical Review*. Until stricken with the illness which proved fatal, he responded generously to editorial requests for book reviews and other contributions, both from learned periodicals and from more popular magazines such as the *Yale Review* and the *Saturday Review of Literature*. His contributions to the *American Historical Review* are scattered through thirty-five volumes. The most widely used of Professor Abbott's books, and the only one that could serve as a textbook, was his two-volume *Expansion of Europe*, which was first published in 1918 and has gone through three editions.



It extends chronologically from the later Middle Ages to the end of the Napoleonic era; in scope of subject matter it is concerned fully as much with the changes that came over Europe and the expansion of its cultural horizons as with European expansion overseas. Professor Abbott's reputation as a historian, however, will probably rest upon his *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, of which three volumes have already been published. He lived, happily, to complete work, even to the reading of the page proof, on the fourth and concluding volume, which will appear shortly. In reviewing the first of these volumes for this journal, Sir Ernest Barker, a former fellow-student of Abbott's at Balliol College, described the work as "a monumental biography of Cromwell as well as being, for long years to come, the 'definitive' edition of his writings and speeches." As a writer and discriminating, though omnivorous, reader of history, and as an exceptionally successful conductor of historical seminars, Professor Abbott gave a great deal of thought to historical composition. While recognizing, and insisting, that history ought to be scientific on the side of investigation, he held that this need not, and should not, prevent its being literary on the side of presentation. He had a deep respect for Gardiner as a researcher, but it was without prejudice to his admiration for Macaulay as a narrator. When, in 1920, the Council of the American Historical Association, convinced that all was not well with history in this country and, in particular, that something ought to be done to improve form and expression in historical writing, appointed a committee to study the situation with a view to making recommendations for improvement, Professor Abbott was appropriately named as one of its members. Its report, published in a volume entitled *The Writing of History*, still deserves to be required reading for all graduate students in history. Professor Abbott's contribution to the report was a discussion of "The Influence of Graduate Instruction on Historical Writing." It was a plea for more attention to form—though not less to matter and substance—on the part of graduate students in their writing, more care for lucid and incisive presentation in seminar reports, more reading of the great masters of history, and the establishment in all graduate schools of history of compulsory courses in historiography which would require a certain amount of such reading. From his youth onward Professor Abbott felt the urge to write, and it is perhaps not irrelevant to record here what few of his historical associates knew, that before he wrote history he wrote poetry, under the *nom de plume* of "Richard K. Lyon," which was published in Indiana newspapers and some of which earned the distinction of republication in anthologies and won praise from the great Hoosier poet James Whitcomb Riley. The literary qualities of Professor Abbott's prose—his power of description and his skill in the delineation of human character, his charm of diction, his mellow satire and whimsical good humor—are perhaps most unmistakably in evidence in his essays, some of which were collected in volumes entitled *Conflicts with Oblivion* (1924) and *Adventures in Reputation* (1935). Professor Abbott was a close and certainly not unsympathetic student of revolu-

tionary movements in the past. His most intensive work was in the field of the English Puritan Revolution, and he made a special study of New York in the American Revolution, on which he published a volume in 1929. To radicalism in his own day, however, he was vigorously opposed, as is shown most clearly in the book which he called *The New Barbarians* (1925). He was far too intelligent to be a standpatter in an age which he recognized to be one of unprecedentedly rapid change in the conditions of human life, but he was convinced that the apostles of revolution were hindering the cause they professed to be serving. In the controversy over "the new history," which raged in historical circles in this country a generation ago, he was on the conservative side. He tried to see the past steadily and whole, and he deplored the tendency among students of history—graduate and undergraduate—to concentrate on very recent times. "Contemporary history" he regarded as a self-contradictory term. In 1941 a volume of historical papers by Professor Abbott's former students, *Essays in Modern English History in Honor of Wilbur Cortez Abbott*, was brought out by the Harvard University Press. The list of contributors included such well-known scholars as Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Lawrence Henry Gipson, A. R. M. Lower, and the late William Thomas Morgan. In a foreword President Seymour of Yale paid affectionate tribute to his old teacher.

Frederick J. Teggart, professor of social institutions emeritus of the University of California, at Berkeley, died at his home on October 12, 1946. Born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1870, he attended the Methodist College in that city and Trinity College, Dublin. He came to the United States in 1888, and was graduated from Stanford University in 1894. As assistant librarian and acting librarian of Stanford University (1893-98), librarian of the Mechanics-Mercantile Library of San Francisco (1898-1907), and custodian of the H. H. Bancroft Library (1905-07), he acquired the skill and understanding which made his contributions to library administration and his instruction in bibliography of great value. Professor Teggart retained his responsibility for the Bancroft collection when it was acquired by the University of California (honorary custodian and curator, 1907-16), organizing the materials, guiding others in research, and himself editing many diaries and memoirs. His active teaching began with his appointment as associate professor of Pacific Coast history (1908). The shifting emphasis from a specific field to a study of the philosophical and theoretical aspects of social development culminated in the establishment of a department of social institutions with Professor Teggart as chairman (associate professor, 1919, professor, 1925-40). The results of his long apprenticeship appeared in the following publications: *Prolegomena to History* (1916), *Processes of History* (1918), *Theory of History* (1925). Recognition of their worth was demonstrated at home by his appointment as faculty research lecturer for the year 1935 and the doctorate of laws in 1943, as well as by favorable comment abroad by scholars of international reputation. Professor Teggart's last published work, *Rome and China* (1939), was an application of his techniques

and principles to a specific problem, a correlation of events on the frontiers of two ancient empires. A study of Hesiod remains in manuscript. Of equal importance to his published works was the impact of his clear thinking upon students. No one left his instruction without improvement. The lasting and ever-growing monument to his memory lies in the teaching of those who were converted to his contempt for sham and his love of truth.

Veit Valentin, the well-known historian of the German liberal movement of 1848, died in Washington, January 11, at the age of sixty-one. Dr. Valentin left Germany immediately following the accession to power of the Nazis. He was trained in various German universities and received his doctorate *summa cum laude* from the University of Heidelberg in which he was later *privatdocent* and assistant professor. After service in the first World War he was on the staff of the Berlin School of Economics and chief councilor to the German National Archives from 1919 to 1933. Dismissed by Hitler for political reasons, he first found refuge in England and became a British subject in 1939. He was special lecturer in the University of London until he came to this country on a traveling lectureship under the auspices of the International Institute of Education. He remained to serve as a visiting lecturer at various American universities. His last appointment and the one held at the time of his death was as research associate in the Library of Congress. In addition to many volumes and monographs on the liberal movement of 1848 and the Bismarck era published in Germany, he produced a comprehensive one-volume history of Germany, *The German People*, published in 1946 (Knopf, New York) and a world history in both a German and Spanish edition. He then turned to the project he was working on at the time of his death, a volume on the central European immigrants of 1848 in American history. He had served this journal as a reviewer and had published articles in other periodicals. In the summer of 1946 he was sent back to Germany as an adviser to our occupying forces. He had married recently and founded a new home in the land that accepted him as an exile, as it has to its profit and glory so many other fugitives from oppression. His story, told often in the past, is one that will be told again and again in the future in the columns of learned journals in all fields of scholarship.

The distinguished historian of early Christianity, Professor Kirsopp Lake of Harvard University, died November 10, 1946, at the age of seventy-four. His scholarship had brought him degrees and distinctions from the learned societies and universities of this country and of Great Britain and Continental Europe. Among the many volumes and monographs devoted to his chosen field the most extensive was *The Beginnings of Christianity* in five volumes, 1920-33.

Chalfant Robinson died at his home in Princeton, New Jersey, January 1, 1947. He was born in 1871 in Cincinnati and graduated from the local university in

1893. His advanced training was obtained partly in Germany and partly at Yale University, where he earned his doctorate in 1902. In successive years thereafter he was a lecturer in history in Yale, Mt. Holyoke, and Smith, and from 1910 to 1914 an assistant professor in Yale. He was for one year a visiting lecturer in medieval history in Princeton and from 1920 on a curator of medieval manuscripts in that institution. Dr. Robinson's interest was in medieval history and in the subject of paleography, and his scholarly publications fell in these fields. Those who knew him will always remember him for his pleasant and friendly manner.

Herbert P. Gallinger, who for forty years was a member of the history department of Amherst College, died February 1 at the age of seventy-seven. He was born in Gallingertown, Ontario, was graduated from Amherst in 1893, and later received his doctor's degree from Leipzig. He retired in 1938 as professor emeritus. His dissertation was a study of German opinion on the American Revolution. In 1915 he edited, with the late Preserved Smith, *Conversations with Luther*, a selection from Luther's table talk. He was a member of the American Historical Association from 1904 until his retirement.

Clarence Perkins, professor of European history and head of the department of history in the University of North Dakota, died October 13, 1946. Dr. Perkins was born August 17, 1878, in Syracuse, New York, and graduated from Syracuse University in 1901. He earned his doctorate at Harvard in 1908. This preparation for his career was supplemented by many summers then and later spent in the archives and libraries of London and Paris. Before accepting the call to North Dakota, he was a member of the history department of Ohio State University from 1909 to 1920. He was known on many other campuses as a welcome member of their summer session staffs. To thousands of college students he was known through his textbooks and study guides. He had been a member of this Association since 1903 and had contributed to this journal reviews and an article in Volume XV on "The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of It after Their Dissolution."

Victor Robinson, professor of the history of medicine in Temple University, Philadelphia, and a leading authority on medical history, succumbed to a heart ailment, January 8, at the age of sixty years. Among his many books are *The Story of Medicine* (1931), *Syllabus of Medical History* (1933), and *Victory over Pain: A History of Anesthesia*, and *White Caps: The Story of Nursing* (1946).

Allyn Bailey Forbes, director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, succumbed to a heart attack, January 21, at the age of forty-nine years. Mr. Forbes, who was an authority on the history of New England, had served as instructor in history (1920-25), Deerfield Academy; instructor in history (1928-31), Harvard

University; editor (since 1931), Colonial Society of Massachusetts; and librarian (1934-40) and director (since 1940), the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Lawrence J. Burpee, well-known Canadian historian and librarian died October 13, 1946, in his seventy-fourth year. For his voluminous writings on Canadian history, literature, and geography, Dr. Burpee had received many honors and decorations. He had been president of the Royal Society of Canada, the Canadian Historical Association, and the Canadian Authors Association.

Those who in recent years (or at any time) came to know George Gordon Coulton, professor of medieval history in the University of Toronto, 1940-43, will regret to hear of his death on March 6. He was always so active and so engagingly belligerent that it did not seem that even eighty-eight years would put a period to his writing and lecturing. A slight diminution of these activities may have made him feel justified in entering under "Recreation" in the last *Who's Who* the single word "Vegetating." Although he was never called to a chair in a British university, Cambridge, Durham, and Edinburgh, as well as Queens (Canada) gave him honorary degrees and invitations to hold endowed lectureships. During his residence in Canada many universities in the United States welcomed him as a guest lecturer. His many volumes on medieval life and history were widely read. Even the specialists in the field who drew upon a greater wealth of sources than Coulton could consult in his limited liberty from daily tasks appreciated them. Like the man, his work faced one squarely with all its strength and all its shortcomings.

Z. N. Brooke, professor of medieval history in Cambridge University and fellow of Gonville and Caius College, died October 7, 1946. He was born February 1, 1883, and educated at Cambridge, where he became a fellow and lecturer in 1908. He served throughout the first World War both on the battle front and in the intelligence corps. He was an editor of the *Cambridge Medieval History*. His own works include *The English Church and the Papacy, 1066-1210* (1931) and *History of Europe, 911-1198* (1938).

Canon A. C. Deane, known for his volume on *The Reformation* and his *Life of Cranmer*, died on September 15, 1946, in Windsor, England.

Harold Peake, former president of the Royal Anthropological Institute, died on September 22, 1946, at the age of seventy-nine. His field of interest was primarily pre-history and is represented in the following selected titles: *The English Village* (1922), *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* (1922), and the *Origin of Agriculture* (1928).

Henry Herbert Dodwell, professor of the history of the British Dominions in the University of London, died October 30, 1946, at the age of sixty-seven. He was a joint editor of the *Cambridge History of India*. In 1920 he published *Dupleix and Clive*, in 1926 *The Nabobs of Madras*, and in 1936 *India* in two volumes. These and other volumes, both edited and written, made him one of the most noteworthy contributors to the history of India, in whose civil service he spent his first years after taking his degree at Oxford.